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A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia

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A True Discourse of the
Present State of Virginia

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A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia

By RALPH HAMOR

Reprinted from the London edition, 1615
with an introduction by A. L. Rowse

1957
THE VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

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PREFATORY NOTE

"The final achievement of the Elizabethan Age, its most enduring monument," declares A. L. Rowse, "is the English expansion overseas." The Jamestown Colony was the first long, lasting step in this expansion, with its decisive importance for the shaping of the modern world. Ralph Hamor's *True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* is a revealing and appealing document in our record of it.

As the foremost twentieth-century historian of Elizabethan England, A. L. Rowse is particularly fitted to introduce Hamor's tract to a modern audience. In *The England of Elizabeth* he traces much of the background of the founding of America. In *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* he tells in more detail how the exploration and colonization of North America was truly an Elizabethan adventure involving not only England's actual colonists but also those very real adventurers at home—those merchants, ministers and noblemen who ventured financially in the Colony—and even the Queen herself. For his brief introduction to Hamor's pamphlet he has exercised again his indefatigable energies for research to discover in old wills new information concerning Hamor. But A. L. Rowse is not an historian to bog down in detail, however new or interesting. "The power to marshal the facts," as the *Times Literary Supplement* wrote in reviewing *The Expansion of Elizabethan England,* "to keep the reader alert, which makes Dr. Rowse an outstanding narrative historian in a time much dominated by historical technicians, is combined with a rare and uninhibited psychological insight." His style, as always, is enthusiastic, vivacious, bringing to his subject through his quiet exuberance a real sense of the timelessness of history, bring-

ing "to its examination," as the *New Yorker* magazine has written of him, "a wit, a vigor, and a sense of perspective that are altogether satisfying."

Hamor's *True Discourse* was first published in London in 1615 by William Welby. Though not primarily a promotional piece, it served a propagandistic purpose in addition to giving the public news from the Colony. In being issued by William Welby it was given unofficial status as speaking for the Virginia Company since, from 1609 through 1613, Welby had published a half dozen other tracts favorable to the Colony: Robert Gray's *A Good Speed to Virginia* (1609), William Crashaw's *A Sermon . . .* (1610), Lord Delaware's *Relation* (1611), Robert Johnson's *The New Life of Virginea* (1612), Silvester Jourdain's *A Plaine Description of the Bermudas* (1613), and Alexander Whitaker's *Good Newes from Virginia* (1613).

Hamor's pamphlet was issued in two printings in the year of its publication. It is here reprinted from a copy of the original issue. The single variation in text occurs on page 60 where, for the present lines beginning "But I much more muse . . ." to the catchword for the page, the pamphlet in its second state reads:

> *Sir* Thomas Dale (*vith vvhom* I *am*) is a *man of great knowledge in Diuinity, and of a good conſcience in all his doings: both which bee rare in a martiall man. Euery Sabbath day wee preach in the forenoone, and Chatechize in the afternoone. Euery Saturday night I exerciſe in Sir* Thomas Dales *houſe. Our Church affaires bee conſulted on by the Miniſter, and foure of the moſt religious men. Once euery moneth wee haue a* Communion, *and once ayeer a ſolemn* Faſt *For me, though my promis of 3 yeers ſervice to my country be expired, yet I will abide in my vocation.*

Hamor's account wes reprinted in Levinus Hulsius's *Sammlung von Sechs und Zwanzig Schiffahrten in verscheidene fremde Länder durch Levinus Hulsium und eine andere, aus dem Holländischen ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit allerhand Anmerkungen versehen* (Nürnberg, Franckfort, Oppenheim, and Hanover, 1598-1650; 26 pts. in 69 v.) as part thirteen: *Ein Warhafftiger und Grundtlicher Bericht von dem jtzigen Zustandt der Landtschafft Virginien.* Hulsius's translated edition substitutes a new note to the reader for Hamor's prefatory material and adds as plates engravings by George Keller of John Smith's map of New England and four illustrations: Pocahontas being persuaded to go aboard the English ship, the conference between the English and the Indians at Matchcot, Captain Argall at the seat of the Chickahominies, and Ralph Hamor visiting Powhatan. Hamor's narrative was included in part ten of Theodore DeBry's collection known as the *Great Voyages,* in German in 1618 and in Latin in 1619. In DeBry's version the appended letters from Dale, Whitaker and Rolfe are omitted, but the same events are illustrated, though from different engravings. Considerable portions of the narrative are incorporated into John Smith's *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Islands* (1624). It has been reprinted as a unit only once, at Albany in 1860 in an edition of two hundred copies for Dr. Charles Gorman Barney, then Treasurer of the Virginia Historical Society, from a copy of the second issue at that time in the library of the Society.

It is here reprinted from a copy of its first issue in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The Virginia State Library is grateful to the Huntington Library for its cooperation in making this reprint possible. It is proud to present the new edition of this important, but too little known, source for the early history of Virginia to a

new audience in the three-hundred-fiftieth anniversary year of the founding of Jamestown. A knowledge of Hamor's little book does much to create an understanding of the hardships which beset the Colonists and the promise which lighted these first Virginians.

R.B.H.

January 1957

INTRODUCTION

"The eyes of all Europe are looking upon our endeavors to spread the gospel among the heathen people of Virginia, to plant an English nation there and to settle a trade in those parts." Thus wrote Sir Walter Cope in recommending the Virginia enterprise to the nation in 1610. He was a Puritan, and the second and third objectives were to prove more important historically than the first. A couple of decades after the first Elizabethan attempts at peopling North America, circumstances were far more propitious. The long war with Spain, which had indeed been fought partly to that end, was over; capital resources, no less than individual energies, which had been consumed by it were now free to carry forward the work of founding what was to become the greatest nation in the world.

The country's honour, many people felt, was engaged by the task. And to read the names of the Adventurers for Virginia, those supporting the enterprise with their money or their credit, is like hearing a roll-call of the most active and forward elements in the society of the last years of Shakespeare. There they all are, from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Shakespeare's own patrons—the Earls of Southampton, Pembroke and Montgomery—through a good proportion of the peerage and knightage, including many names with distant reverberations, for there are Cromwells and Cecils, Chamberlains and Lord North alongwith the Spencer ancestor of the Churchills; from Anglican bishops alongside of Puritans and Catholics, and famous figures in the life of London down to an obscure Cornish squire like William Roscarrock, living there on the Atlantic coast hard by Padstow Haven. Everybody who was anybody seems to have

been in it, except the poets—and they as usual were out of cash.

But the backbone of the support, the driving force of the movement, came from the commercial middle class, mainly of London, led by the indefatigable energies, the resources and the vision of the greatest figure among her trading magnates—Sir Thomas Smythe, Governor of both the East India and the Muscovy Companies, Treasurer and head of the Virginia Company. Of these elements none was more characteristic than the Hamors, nor in the event more valuable, for they not only gave financial backing to the endeavour but devoted their lives to it. I am happy to be able to throw a little more light on the author of this interesting tract, to aid in rescuing from oblivion the almost forgotten name of one who deserved well of Virginia.

Ralph Hamor the younger was the second son of Ralph Hamor, the leading figure among the Merchant Taylors in his time and sometime warden of the Company. The father was a considerable investor in East India stock and one of the most reliable backers of the Virginia Company. He adventured first £50 for himself and £25 for his children, the largest sum among the Merchant Taylors. At the time of his death he had adventured £133.6.5, and his younger son £25. (The usual share was £12.10.)

The elder Hamor died in 1615, leaving a will that testifies to the generosity of his disposition as well as to the prosperity of his condition. It was witnessed by Milton's father in his familiar role as scrivener. Hamor wished to be buried "within the parish church of St. Nicholas Acon where I was born, nigh the place where my father lieth or near the place where my wife lieth." This was his first wife, mother of his children. He left one third of his estate to his second wife, and another third to two daughters and Ralph, who was to receive £200 besides. His elder son Thomas had already re-

ceived £2,400 from his father and made no success in life. He accompanied his brother to Virginia later, had a narrow escape in the massacre of 1622, was reported very sick in 1623 and was dead, it seems, by 1624. The rest of the will is taken up with generous—it may be, too generous—legacies for public purposes: to Merchant Taylors', Clothworkers', Silkweavers' Companies, to Christ's Hospital, the parishes and the poor where he lived. When his widow died in 1617 she left £10 each to her step-sons Thomas and Ralph.

These boys would certainly have gone to Merchant Taylors' School, where Edmund Spenser preceded them a generation earlier. It seems that Ralph went on to Oxford for a short spell, for a Ralph Hamor of London was admitted to Brasenose College in 1605, matriculated in 1606 at the age of seventeen and left without taking a degree. But the Latinized prose of the *True Discourse* is that of an educated man and I feel sure that this Ralph Hamor is our man. He refers to himself in the tract, written in 1614, as "young in years and knowledge," and this would make him the not improbable age of twenty-five at that time.

The Colony was planted in 1607, but it was the second charter of 1609 that gave it permanency and in this instrument young Hamor is named. He sailed in the largest of the expeditions, that of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, was wrecked with them on Bermuda in the hurricane of which the *Tempest* was a by-product and is our constant reminder, and so landed in Virginia with Gates in May 1610. He spent the next four years there, for some part of that time acting as a clerk to the Council. In June 1614 he sailed for home with Captain Argall, and arrived in July. Next year he published his *Discourse* in London. He remained there for more than a year after his father's death and received his legacy, which he turned to use for his purposes in Virginia. In January 1617 Hamor had eight shares

of land allotted him by the Virginia Company and was allowed a bill for £62.10 for transporting five persons at £12.10 each. Thomas Hamor was allowed £50 for transporting four. Presumably Ralph was responsible for engaging his less energetic brother's interest in Virginia and took him back with him when he sailed in March 1617, transporting sixteen persons under his charge, and arriving in May.

The next we hear of the brothers is in connexion with the general massacre concerted by the Indians in March 1622. Ralph Hamor's servant Browne had been sent to live among the Warascoyacks and learn their language—on the opposite bank of the river from Jamestown, some way down; Browne was sent back with a friendly message to Hamor, to put him off the scent, only two days before the outbreak. The account in Smith's *General History of Virginia* tells us that Thomas Hamor was at that moment in the Warascoyack country: "here the savages with many presents and fair persuasions feigned they came from Captain Ralph Hamor to go to their king then hunting in the woods." The Indians set fire to a tobacco-house and Hamor's men coming to quench it were ambushed and had their brains beaten out. Thomas Hamor barricaded himself in a house there, from which he managed to get away with twenty-two people, mostly women and children, leaving the house burning. "Captain [Ralph] Hamor all this while not knowing anything, coming to his brother that had sent for him to go hunt with the king, meeting the savages chasing some, yet escaped, retired to his new house then a-building; there only with spades, axes and brickbats he defended himself till the savages departed."

In this crisis of the Colony's existence we find Captain Hamor much relied on by the Council to execute the measures necessary. (He owed his title of Captain to the organ-

ization introduced by Gates, when the Colony's manpower was divided into bands of fifteen, each under a captain.) By now he was himself a member of the Council. On 15 April he was given a commission from the Governor to exercise absolute command in all matters of war over the people in Martin's Hundred; four days later he was to bring away all the people and their goods from Warascoyack up to Jamestown. The massacre had disorganized the Colony's food supplies, and in May Hamor was sent in command of the *Tiger* into the Bay to get corn from the Indians by trade or by force; and again in October he was sent on a similar mission into the Potomac and elsewhere in the Bay, for "by the treachery of the Indians we have been hindered this present year from such quantities of corn growing of our own as might suffice our present necessities."

In October of that year Hamor's letter was read to the Company in London reciting events since the Massacre, the retaliation upon the Indians, the burning of their towns, the alliance with the King of Potomac against the hostile Opochankano who had been chiefly responsible for the massacre, the resolution of Governor and Council to make war on him, "hoping to clear the country of him this winter, settling the country in better estate than before." And, in effect, this is what came about: no longer any need to exercise restraint in regard to the Indians and their lands, the colonists were free to take the best and go ahead as numbers and trade increased.

As for Hamor, we find George Sandys writing in April 1623, somewhat querulously, "Captain Hamor is miserably poor and necessity will enforce him to shift." It did not: he hung on, though in September he is reported as sick. That winter the Governor sent him out once more into the Bay to enforce corn-supplies, "out of the certain knowledge and good opinion which I conceive of Captain Hamor for

managing of an employment of such consequence." All the rest we know of him is that he married a widow, Elizabeth Clements, and that in 1626 he died: he would be about thirty-seven, worn out by the hardships and endurances of such a life. *Alget,* indeed, *qui non ardet*—the motto he placed on the title-page of his *Discourse,* the work of his youth.

It is a pity he did not live longer, to enjoy retirement and some ease; for with his scholarly standards, his pious devotion to truth, his justice of mind, he might have given us a History of Virginia to set beside, and check, John Smith's. What he has left us, his *Discourse,* is chiefly known by the fragment of it embedded in Smith. It makes there a somewhat surprising appearance, for its tone is quite different, as Hamor's temper of mind—subdued, pious, different, objective—is different from Smith's intensely personal, rumbustious vitality. We know, all the better, how much more Hamor may be trusted.

Hamor's *Discourse* gives us a reliable account of events in the Colony from his arrival there in 1610 to his departure in June 1614. We know the condition of affairs on his arrival, the discords and lack of any discipline during the first years, the slacking and idleness, famine and disease, the Colony almost at an end, ready to give over. "When our people were fed out of the common store and laboured jointly in the manuring of the ground and planting corn, glad was that man that could slip from his labour, nay the most honest of them in a general business would not take so much faithful and true pains in a week as now he will do in a day; neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoever their harvest prospered, the general store must maintain them, by which means we reaped not so much corn from the labours of twenty men as three men have done for themselves." Well, of course.

He indicates the measures taken by Gates and Dale to put the Colony on a proper footing of private ownership, effective discipline and organization. He tells us the story of Pocahontas's retention as a pledge for the Englishmen held by her father Powhatan and of the growth of mutual love between her and John Rolfe, her christening and their marriage. All was above-board, and Rolfe—with whom Hamor was on good terms of friendship—was anxious to have everything in order. Much as they were all under the influence of the Old Testament experience ever-present to their minds, themselves Israelites journeying into a land of Canaan, John Rolfe was very conscious of God's heavy displeasure upon the sons of Levi and Israel for marrying strange wives. Himself had been "no way led (so far forth as man's weakness may permit) with the unbridled desire of carnal affection, but for the good of this plantation, for the honour of our country, for the glory of God, for my own salvation, and for the converting to the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, an unbelieving creature, Pocahontas. To whom my hearty and best thoughts are and have a long time been so entangled and enthralled in so intricate a labyrinth that I was even awearied to unwind myself thereout." So now we know: John Rolfe, like many another, found marriage the only way out. And that all was in order may be witnessed by the letter Hamor published, in addition to Rolfe's defense of himself, from Alexander Whitaker the minister, as a kind of testimonial. Here then is the true story of Pocahontas, in fact and without romancing.

The marriage led to peace with Powhatan and Hamor was writing in the atmosphere of *détente* and good relations. He goes on to describe the alliance with the Chickahominies, the laying out of Jamestown and Henrico, the first steps in tobacco-growing which were to have such consequences—here too the experimenting Rolfe was first in the field. The

little book concludes with a fascinating description of a journey to Powhatan, a most convincing portrait of the native chief, shrewd, well worthy of his position, full of diplomacy, not unsympathetic. Hamor depicts the favourable prospects of the country, teeming with fish, fowl, animals, the fruits of the earth, the fertility of the soil, the plenty awaiting those willing to labor, again with Elizabethan factuality and conviction. For this is not promoters' literature; though Hamor wrote to answer detractors and reproach those who were backward "in the pursuit of honorable enterprises," he was originally moved to write "merely by my own delight and content." He hoped to move the reader "to join with others right worthily disposed to become a hearty and devoted furtherer of an action so noble as is this."

Already he writes from the perspective of the new country begun on the other side of the Atlantic—to achieve what unimaginable fulfillment in the course of time! "Next winter," he writes, "we doubt not to have three or four ploughs going, which once compassed we shall in short time be able to repay England the corn they have lent us." Again, "no country under the sun may or doth afford more pleasant, sweet and strong tobacco . . . there are some now resident there which, I doubt not, will make and return such tobacco this year that even England shall acknowledge the goodness thereof." Is it fanciful to think that in such phrases we hear the accents of the first Virginian, that is, the first American?

A. L. Rowse

St. Austell, Cornwall
October 1956

A True Discourse of the
Present State of Virginia

A TRVE DISCOVRSE OF THE PRESENT ESTATE OF VIRGINIA, and the ſucceſſe of the affaires there till the 18 of *Iune*. 1614.

TOGETHER.

WITH A RELATION OF THE ſeuerall Engliſh Townes and forts, the aſſured hopes of that countrie and the peace *concluded with the Indians.*

The Chriſtening of *Powhatans* daughter *and her mariage with an Engliſh-man.*

Written by RAPHE HAMOR the yonger, late Secretarie in that Colony.

Alget, qui non ardet.

Printed at London by IOHN BEALE for WILLIAM WELBY dwelling at the ſigne of the *Swanne in Pauls Church yard.* 16. 5.

TO THE TRVLY

Honorable, and right worthy Knight,

Sr. Thomas Smith, Gouernour of the *Eaſt India*, Muſcouia, North-weſt paſſages, Somer Iſlands *Companies, and Treaſurer for the firſt Colony in* VIRGINIA.

Honourable Sir:

HAuing in the time of my reſidence in *Virginia* (as it is true my imployment then inuited mee hereunto) collected for my owne vſe and benefit, ſome few occurrents and accidents, which are obuious in all new imployments, a thing which perhaps but few regard there to buſie themſelues with, and fewer heer to peruſe: I reſolued indeed only to delight my ſelfe, and ſom who I am bound to be thankefull vnto in that kinde, with the vnworthy view of them, the rather, becauſe I haue ſeen many publications & impreſſions of thoſe affairs, by thoſe, whoſe books I ſhould be proud to beare after them: but ſuch is the peruerſenes of mankinde, ſuch their incredulity of euery thing, ſaue what their eies tell them to be true: yea, ſuch their backwardnes in the perſuit of honorable enterpriſes, that though there ſhould bee no end of writing, but euery day ſhould drawe foorth his line, and euery line his reall encouragement, as mine may in the ſtate of the Colony, as it now ſtandeth, it were hard to ſay whether

ther one of ſo many thouſands as abound in *England*, might be thereby moued to ioine with others right worthyly diſpoſed, to become a harty and deuoted furtherer of an action ſo noble, as is this, which thing if I faile in effecting, I ſhall not loſe much labour, ſince when I vndertook this taske, I imagined no ſuch thing: but meerly my owne, delight and content. It ſhall be reward enough for me to expreſſe my indeauours there, though not equall with the beſt, yet not idly miſpent.

I labor not to ſeduce or betray any into an action or imployment, wherein once perſonally ingaged, they ſhould haue any cauſe to blame me, neither would I force the helpe of any mans purſe, more then voluntary, if I could beyond my art, vſe ſuch effectuall perſwaſions.

There are enough in my opinion, and thoſe the worthyeſt of *England* already vnited, as the way is now laid downe, to perfect this buſineſſe, whoſe indeuours, if they proceed without backſlyding, and therein perſiſt ſome fewe yeers longer, ſhall be requited and paid with ſuch treble intereſt, as it ſhall not repent him that is now moſt cold in the purſuit, to haue refuſed more Competitors to be ſharers in the returnd profit.

Your noble ſelfe Sir, euer emulous of vertue, and honourable Enterpriſes, ſhould ſhine to the world more noble in the vpholding of this imployment, though it apeared, as in the beginning, full of diſcouragement, which neuertheleſſe

leſſe, I know your ſelfe reſts ſo aſſured is now more neer, then euer to perfection. Your innate and habituall vertue needs no ſpurre, your honourable indeauours well witneſſe the ſame: would God (as is yours) al mens offrings, though not ſo ample, were ſo free, ſo hartily ſacrificed: then could they not thus long haue wanted their rewards, perhaps for no other end detained, but to make others, a thing which God profeſſeth to loue and delight in, more cheerful giuers. Accept (worthy Sir) this vnworthy Treatiſe, the beſt teſtimony of my gratuity, which as yet my diſabilities may render. Trueth ſhall ſhroud and patronize it, from the maleuolent detracting multitude; whoſe blame though it incurre their ſhame and imputation, it ſcorns, and returns vnto them.

My zeale to the Action, though I may ſeeme to haue forſaken it, giues mee the heart to publiſh, what I know, to the world: To your ſelfe particularly your own worth, and deſerts to me, irrequitable, graunt but that fauourable acceptation, which euer accompanies your worth; and I ſhal euer acknowledge my ſelfe wholy yours, in hope wherof I conclude with my ſeruice: & reſt,

At your commaund to be diſpoſed off;

RALPH HAMOR.

To the Reader.

Ignorant, or enuious, if you be Readers: it is not to ſatiſfie the beſt of you that I now wright, a more ſeaſonable time I muſt take to imbarque my ſelfe in ſo rough a Sea *and come off ſafe: onely his authoritie (who hath power to compell my ſelfe and duety) hath commaunded me to ſatiſfie his affections (couetous of the dignitie and truth of this pious* Plantation*) with theſe particulars: that they are got abroade, and become publike, was no purpoſe in their firſt conception, though ſome reſpect haue made them ſo now: A naked and vnſtudied* diſcourſe, *I acknowledge, without notes reſerued (but in* Memorie*) to helpe it: yet thus much I doe auow, that it hath duety and truth to make good all other the wants, and imperfections of it: I will labour in no further excuſe.*

Concerning the Virginie *pious worke it ſelfe, how it hath thriued vnder the commaund both of Sir* Thomas Gates *Knight, Gouernour, and Sir* Thomas Dale *Knight, and* Marſhall of the Collonie, *theſe three yeeres and more: let me ſay, if (ſetting aſide thine owne ouerweening and ſingularity) thy vnhoodded eye, can now at length looke vpon it (after ſo many yeeres of her patience and paſſions) thou wilt eaſily acknowledge, whoſe finger hath the alone guidance of it, and then (I doubt nothing) be pleaſed to here thy ſelfe intreated (out of thoſe great plenties and hauings which God hath lent thee) to ſpare a little little portion to the full ſetling and finiſhing*

vp

vp a Sanctum Sanctorum *an holy houſe, a* Sanctuary *to him, the* God *of the* Spirits, *of all fleſh, amongſt ſuch poore and innocent ſeduced* Sauages *as we treate off, on whom let our hopes be, that it hath vouchſafed him now to be ſufficiently reuenged for their forefathers Ingratitude and treaſons*, and now in his appointed time to deſcēd in mercie, to lighten them that ſit in darkenes, and in the ſhaddow of death, and to direct their feete in the waies of peace.

Sure yong though in yeeres and knowledge I may be ſaid to be, yet let me remember, to thee perhaps much knowledge Reader, *what the wiſeſt man that euer writ or ſpeake (excepting him that was both God and man) hath ſaid, that ſuch who bring others vnto righteouſneſſe ſhal themſelues ſhine as the ſtars in the firmament. And doubtleſſe I doe beleeue, euen amongſt the reſt of my* Articles, *when theſe poore Heathens ſhall be brought to entertaine the honour of the name, and glory of the Goſpell of our bleſſed Sauiour, when they ſhall teſtifie of the true and euerliuing God, and Ieſus Chriſt to be their Saluation, their knowledge ſo inlarged and ſanctified, that without him they confeſſe their eternal death: I do beleeue I ſay (and how can it be otherwiſe?) that they ſhal breake out and cry with rapture of ſo inexplicable mercie: Bleſſed be the King and Prince of England, and bleſſed be the Engliſh Nation, and bleſſed for euer be the moſt high God poſſeſſor of Heauen and earth, that ſent theſe Engliſh as Angels to bring ſuch glad tidings amongſt vs. Theſe will be doubtleſſe the empaticke effects and exultation of this ſo Chriſtian worke, and may theſe nothing moue? Alas let* Sanballat *and* Tobiah, Papiſts *and* Plairis, Ammonites *and* Horonites, *the ſcumme and dregges of the people, let them mocke at this holy Buſineſſe, they that be filthie, let them be filthie ſtill, and let ſuch ſwine wallow in the mire, but let not the rod of the wicked fall vpon the lot of the righteous, let not them*

ſhrinke

ſhrinke backe, and eall in their helpes from this ſo glorious enterpriſe, which the Prophet Iſaiah *cals, the declaring of God to the left hand, but let them that know the worke, reioice and be glad in the happie ſucceſſe of it, proclaiming that it is the euerliuing God that raigneth in* England, *and vnto the ends of the world.*

Excuſe me (curteous Reader) if caried beyond my purpoſe, I declaime paſſionately in this paſſiue and innocently deſpiſed worke, which I am ſure is ſo full of goodneſſe, and haue bin almoſt ſix yeers a Sufferer *and eye witnes of his now well nigh atchieued happineſſe, the full and vnſtaind reportory of euery accident whereof euen from his beginning, together with the cauſes of the backwardnes, in proſperity thus lõg, touching at the miraculous deliuery of the ſcattered company, caſt vpon the* Bermudas, *when thoſe fortunate Iſlands like ſo many faire Neriades which receiued our wrackt company, with the death of that pure and noble hearted Gentleman Sir* George Sumers *dieing there, my purpoſe is ſhortly at large to publiſh, that at length ſome one eſcaped Leaper, amongſt ſo many ſaued, may returne backe and pay his vowes of thanks-giuing vnto that euer to be praiſed mercifull prouidence that brought vs thither, vntil when I wiſh thy zealous and feruent thoughts and indeuours to a buſineſſe ſo full of piety, as is this our* Virginie *Plantation.*

RAPHE HAMOR.

A TRVE DISCOVRSE of the preſent eſtate of Virginia, and the ſucceſſe of the affaires there till the 18 *of Iune.* 1614.

THe many publications and impreſſions of Virginia, an imployment wherein to this day my ſelfe with many other vnſtaid heads & thirſtie after new deſignes, haue bin to vnprofitably ingaged, might iuſtly excuſe my ſilence, did not the filiall duty whereby in all things to the vtmoſt of my power I am bound to obey my Father, compell me vnwillingly thereunto: A taske I know by himſelfe and others, meerely becauſe I haue bin *Oculatus teſtis*, thus impoſed vpon me, in the vndertaking and performance whereof, I hartily wiſh that my poore relation, rich onely in truth (as I ſhall cleerely iuſtifie my ſelfe by eie witneſſes alſo) may giue any credit or incouragement to proceede in a buſineſſe ſo full of honour, and worth, whereunto (if there were no ſecondary cauſes) the already publiſht ends, I meane the glory of God in the

conuerſion of thoſe Infidels, and the honour of our King and country (which by right may claime at the leaſt their ſuperfluities, from thoſe whom God hath in this world made his diſpenſors and purſe-bearers) might be a ſufficient ſpurre to reſolued Chriſtians, eſpecially the ſtate and condition of our collonie, ſo ſtanding when I left it, and I aſſure my ſelfe in this time growne more mature, that an honeſt hart would euen relent, and mourne to thinke how poorely, I dare not ſay vnworthily it is proſecuted. It being true that now after fiue yeeres inteſtine warre with the reuengefull implacable Indians, a firme peace (not againe eaſily to be broken) hath bin lately concluded, not onely with the nigh bour, and bordering Indidians, as on *Pataomecke*, *Topahanah*, and other Riuers, but euen with that ſubtill old reuengefull *Powhatan* and all the people vnder his ſubiection, for all whom *Powhatan* himſelfe ſtands firmely ingaged, by which meanes we ſhall not onely be furniſhed with what commodities their countrie yeeldeth, and haue all the helpes they may afforde vs in our indeuours (as they are eaſily taught, and may by lenitie and faire vſage, as Sir Thomas *Dale* now principall commander there, and moſt worthy the honour he houlds, is well experienced in their diſpoſitions, and accordingly makes vſe of them) be brought, being naturally though ingenious, yet idlely giuē, to be no leſſe induſtrious, nay to exceede our Engliſh, eſpecially thoſe which we hitherto and as yet are furniſhed with, who for the moſt part no more ſenſible then beaſts, would rather ſtarue in idleneſſe (witneſſe their former proceedings) then feaſt in labour, did not the law compell them thereunto, but alſo which will be moſt for our benefit, our owne men may without hazard, I might ſay with ſecurity (by ſelfe-experience) follow their ſeuerall labours, whereby twentie ſhall now

be

bee able to performe more then heretofore hath bin forrie.

Though I coniecture and aſſure my ſelfe that yee cannot be ignorant by what meanes this peace hath bin thus happily both for our proceedings and the welfare of the Naturals concluded, yet for the honour of Captain *Argol* whoſe indeuours in the action intituled him moſt worthy, I iudge it no whit impertinēt in my diſcourſe to inſert them, which w th as much breuity as I may, not omitting the circumſtances moſt pertinent and materiall, I ſhall indeuour.

The generall letters vpon my knowledge, directed and ſent to the honourable *Virginia* Councell, being moſt of them (though my ſelfe moſt vnworthy) by me penned haue intimated, how that the euerworthy gentlema Capt. *Argall* in the heate of our home furies & diſagreements by his beſt experience of the diſpoſitiō of thoſe people, partly by gentle vſage & partly by the compoſition & mixture of threats hath euer kept faire & friendly quarter with our neighbours bordering onother riuers of affinity, yea conſanguinity, no leſſe neere then brothers to *Powhatan*, ſuch is his well knowne temper and diſcretion, yea to this paſſe hath he brought them, that they aſſuredly truſt vpon what he promiſeth, and are as carefull in performing their mutuall promiſes, as though they contended to make that *Maxim*, that there is no faith to be held with Infidels, a meere and abſurd *Paradox*: Nay as I haue heard himſelfe relate, who is *fide dignus*, they haue euen bin penſiue and diſcontented with themſelues, becauſe they knew not how to doe him ſome acceptable good turne, which might not onely pleaſure him, but euen be profitable to our whole Collonie, and *Plantation*, yea euer aſſuring him that when the times ſhould preſent occaſion, they would take hold of her forelocke, and be the inſtruments to worke him con-

tent, and euen thus they proued themſelues as honeſt performers, as liberall promiſers. It chaunced *Powhatans* delight and darling, his daughter *Pocahuntas*, (whoſe fame hath euen bin ſpred in England by the title of *Nonparella* of *Virginia*) in her princely progreſſe, if I may ſo terme it, tooke ſome pleaſure (in the abſence of Captaine *Argall* (to be among her friends at *Pataomecke* (as it ſeemeth by the relation I had) imploied thither, as ſhopkeepers to a *Fare*, to exchange ſome of her fathers commodities for theirs, where reſiding ſome three months or longer, it fortuned vpon occaſion either of promiſe or profit, Captaine *Argall* to arriue there, whom *Pocahuntas*, deſirous to renue hir familiaritie with the Engliſh, and delighting to ſee them, as vnknowne, fearefull perhaps to be ſurpriſed, would gladly viſit, as ſhe did, of whom no ſooner had Captaine *Argall* intelligence, but he delt with an old friend, and adopted brother of his *Iapazeus*, how and by what meanes he might procure hir captiue, aſſuring him, that now or neuer, was the time to pleaſure him, if he entended indeede that loue which he had made profeſſion of, that in ranſome of hir he might redeeme ſome of our Engliſh men and armes, now in the poſſeſſion of her Father, promiſing to vſe her withall faire, and gentle entreaty: *Iapazeus* well aſſured that his brother, as he promiſed would vſe her curteouſly promiſed his beſt indeuours and ſecreſie to accompliſh his deſire, and thus wrought it, making his wife an inſtrument (which ſex haue euer bin moſt powerfull in beguiling intiſements) to effect his plot which hee had thus laid, he agreed that himſelfe, his wife, and *Pocahuntas*, would accompanie his brother to the water ſide, whether come, his wife ſhould faine a great and longing deſire to goe aboorde, and ſee the ſhippe, which being there three or foure times, before

fore ſhe had neuer ſeene, and ſhould bee earneſt with her husband to permit her: he ſeemed angry with her, making as he pretended ſo vnneceſſary a requeſt, eſpecially being without the company of women, which deniall ſhe taking vnkindely, muſt faine to weepe, (as who knows not that women can command teares) whereupon her husband ſeeming to pitty thoſe counterfeit teares, gaue her leaue to goe aboord, ſo that it would pleaſe *Pochahuntas* to accompany her: now was the greateſt labour to win her, guilty perhaps of her fathers wrongs, though not knowne as ſhe ſuppoſed to goe with her, yet by her earneſt perſwaſions, ſhe aſſented: ſo forthwith aboord they went, the beſt cheere that could be made was ſeaſonably prouided, to ſupper they went, merry on all hands, eſpecially *Iapazeus* and his wife, who to expres their ioy, would ere be treading vpō Capt. *Argals* foot, as who ſhould ſay tis don, ſhe is your own. Supper ended, *Pochahuntas* was lodged in the Gunners roome, bnt *Iapazeus* and his wife deſired to haue ſome conference with their brother, which was onely to acquaint him by what ſtratagem they had betraied his priſoner, as I haue already related: after which diſcourſe to ſleepe they went, *Pochahuntas* nothing miſtruſting this policy, who neuertheles being moſt poſſeſſed with feare, and deſire of returne, was firſt vp, and haſtened *Iapazeus* to be gon. Capt. *Argall* hauing ſecretly well rewarded him, with a ſmall Copper kettle, and ſom other les valuable toies ſo highly by him eſteemed, that doubtleſſe he would haue betraied his owne father for them, permitted both him and his wife to returne, but told him, that for diuers conſiderations, as for that his father had then eigh of our Engliſh men, many ſwords, pee ces, and other tooles, which he had at ſeuerall times by treccherons murdering our men, taken from them,

though of no vſe to him, he would not redeliuer, h e would reſerue *Pocahuntas*, whereat ſhe began to be ſ exceeding penſiue, and diſcontented, yet ignorant o the dealing of *Iapazeus*, who in outward appearan ce was no les diſcontented that he ſhould be the meanes of her captiuity, much a doe th ere was to perſwade her to be patient, which with extraordinary curteous vſage, by little and little was wro ught in her, and ſo to *Iames* towne ſhe was brought, a meſſenger to her father forthwith diſpached to aduertiſe him, that his only daughter was in the hands & poſſeſſion of the Engliſh: ther to be kept til ſuch ti me as he would ranſom her with our men, ſwords, peeces, & other tools treacherouſly taken from vs: the news was vnwelcome, and troubleſom vnto him, partly for the loue he bare to his daughter, and partly for the loue he bare to our men his priſoners, of whom though with vs they were vnapt for any imployment) he made great vſe: and thoſe ſwords, and peeces of ours, (which though of no vſe to him) it delighted him to view, and looke vpon.

He could not without long aduiſe & delibertion with his Councell, reſolue vpon any thing, and it is true, we heard nothing of him till three moneths after, by perſwaſions of others he returned vs ſeauen of our men, with each of them a Muſket vnſeruiceable, and by them ſent vs word, that whenſoeuer wee pleaſed to deliuer his daughter, he would giue vs in ſatisfaction of his iniuries done to vs, and for the reſt of our peeces broken and ſtolne from him, 500 Buſhells of Corne, and be for euer friends with vs, the men, and Peeces in part of payment we receiued: and returned him anſwere, that his daughter was very well, and kindely intreated, and ſo ſhould be howſoeuer he dealt with vs: but we could not beleeue that the reſt of our Arms were either loſt, or ſtolne from him, and therefore till he returned them all we would not by any meanes deliuer his daughter,

ter, and then it ſhould be at his choice, whether he would eſtabliſh peace, or continue enemies with vs. This anſwere as it ſeemed, pleaſed him not very wel, for we heard no more from him till in March laſt, when with Captaine *Argalls* Shippe, and ſome other Veſſells belonging to the Colony, Sir *Thomas Dale* with an hundred and fifty men well appointed, went vp into his owne Riuer, where his chiefeſt habitations were, and carried with vs his daughter, either to moue them to fight for her, if ſuch were their courage and boldneſſe, as hath been reported, or to reſtore the reſidue of our demands, which were our peeces, ſwords, tooles. Some of the ſame men which he returned (as they promiſed) ran to him again, and becauſe he had put vs to the trouble to fetch them fiue hundred buſhels of Corne: A great brauado all the way as we went vp the Riuer they made, demaunding the cauſe of our comming thither, which wee tould them was to deliuer *Pocahuntas*, whom purpoſely we had brought with vs, and to receiue our Armes, men, & corn, or elſe to fight with them, burn their howſes, take away their Canoas, breake downe their fiſhing Weares, and doe them what other damages we could: Some of them to ſet a good face on the matter, replied, that if wee came to fight with them? we were welcome, for they were prouided for vs, councelling vs rather to retire (if wee loued our ſafeties) then proceed, bragging, as well they might, that wee had euer had the worſt of them in that Riuer, inſtancing by Capt: *Ratliefe* (not worthy remembring, but to his diſhonor) who, with moſt of his company they betrayed and murthered: we told them ſince they durſt remember vs of that miſchief, vnleſſe they made the better and more ſpeedy agreement, we would now reuenge that trechery, and with this diſcourſe by the way as we went, we proceeded,

and

and had no ſooner entred the narrow of the riuer, the channell there lying within ſhot of the ſhoare, but they let their arrowes flie amongſt vs in the ſhippe, themſelues vnſeene to vs, and in the forehead hurt one of our men, which might haue hazarded his life without the preſent helpe of a skilfull Chirurgion.

Being thus iuſtly prouoked, we preſently manned our boates, went aſhoare, and burned in that verie place ſome forty houſes, and of the things we found therein, made freeboote and pillage, and as themſelues afterward confeſt vnto vs, hurt and killed fiue or ſixe of their men, with this reuenge ſatisfying our ſelues, for that their preſumption in ſhooting at vs, and ſo the next day proceeded higher vp the Riuer, the Indians calling vnto vs, and demaunding why we went a ſhoare, burnt their houſes, killed and hurt their men, and tooke away their goods. We replied that though we came to them in peaceable manner, and would haue beene glad to haue receiued our demaunds with loue and peace, yet we had hearts and power to take reuenge, and puniſh where wrongs ſhold be offered, which hauing now don, though not ſo ſeuerely as we might, we reſted content therewith and are ready to imbrace peace wirh them if they pleaſed. Many excuſes they ſeemed to pretend, that they ſhot not at vs, but (if any ſuch abuſe were offered) it was ſome ſtragled Indian, ignorant of our pretence in comming to them, affirming that they themſelues would be right glad of our loue, and would indeauour to helpe vs to what we came for, which being in the poſſeſſion of *Powhatan* their King, they would without delay diſpatch meſſengers to him, to know his purpoſe and pleaſure, deſiring faire quarter ſome 24 howers, for ſo long they pretended it would be before their meſſengers might returne: this wee graun-

graunted,and what we promiſed,we euer exactly performed, the time now come, we inquired what *Powhatan* would doe,and had for anſwere, that our Engliſhmen lately with him, fearefull to be put to death by vs, were runne away,and ſome of *Powhatans* men ſent abroade in queſt of them, but our ſwords and peeces ſo many as he had ſhould be brought the next day,which meerely to delay time,they barevs in hand the next day they came not, higher vp the riuer we went,and ancored neere vnto the chiefeſt reſidencie *Powhatan* had, at a towne called *Matchcot* where were aſſembled (which we ſaw) about 400 men,well appointed with their bowes and arrowes to welcome vs,here they dared vs to come a ſhoare,a thing which we purpoſed before, ſo a ſhoare we went, our beſt landing being vp a high ſteepe hill which might haue giuen the enemy much aduantage againſt vs, but it ſeemed they as we were vnwilling to begin, and yet would gladly haue bin at blowes, being landed as if they had no ſhew of feare, they ſtirred not from vs, but walked vp and downe, by and amongſt vs, the beſt of them inquiring for our Weroance or king, with whom they would gladly conſult to know the occaſion of our comming thither,wherof when they were informed, they made anſwere that they were there ready to defend themſelues,if we pleaſed to aſſault them, deſiring neuertheleſſe ſome ſmall time to diſpatch two or three men once more to their king, to know his reſolution, which if not anſwerable to our requeſts,in the morning if nothing elſe but blood would then ſatisfie vs, they would fight with vs, and thereby determine our quarrell, which was but a further delay to procure time to carrie away their prouiſions, neuertheleſſe we agreed to this their requeſt, aſſuring them till the next day by noone we would not moleſt,hurt, nor detaine any of them, and then

before we fought, our Drum and Trumpets ſhould giue them warning: vpon which promiſe of ours, two of *Powhatans* ſonnes being very deſirous to ſee their ſiſter who was there preſent aſhore with vs, came vnto vs, at the ſight of whom, and her well fare, whom they ſuſpected to be worſe intreated, though they had often heard the contrary, they much reioyced, and promiſed that they would vndoubtedly perſwade their father to redeeme her, and to conclude a firme peace forever with vs, and vpon this reſolution the two brothers with vs retired aboarde, we hauing firſt diſpatched two Engliſh men, Maiſter Iohn *Rolfe* and maiſter *Sparkes* to acquaint their Father with the buſineſſe in hand, the next day being kindly intreated, they returned, not at all admitted *Powhatans* preſence, but ſpake with his brother *Apachamo*, his ſucceſſor, one who hath already the commaund of all the people, who likewiſe promiſed vs his beſt indeauors to further our iuſt requeſts, and we becauſe the time of the yeere being then Aprill, called vs to our buſineſſe at home to prepare ground, and ſet corne for our winters prouiſion, vpon theſe termes departed, giuing them reſpite till harueſt to reſolue what was beſt for them to doe, with this Prouiſo, that if finall agreement were not made betwixt vs before that time, we would thither returne againe and deſtroy and take away all their corne, burne all the houſes vpon that riuer, leaue not a fiſhing *Weere* ſtanding, nor a *Canoa* in any creeke therabout, and deſtroy and kill as many of them as we could.

Long before this time a gentleman of approued behauiour and honeſt cariage, maiſter Iohn *Rolfe* had bin in loue with *Pocahuntas* and ſhe with him, which thing at the inſtant that we were in parlee with them, my ſelfe made known to Sir Thomas *Dale* by a letter from him, whereby he intreated his aduiſe and furtherance

therance in his loue, if ſo it ſeemed fit to him for the good of the Plantation, and *Pocahuntas* her ſelfe, acquainted her brethren therewith: which reſolution Sir Thomas *Dale* wel approuing, was the onely cauſe hee was ſo milde amongſt them, who otherwiſe would not haue departed their riuer without other conditions.

The bruite of this pretended marriage came ſoone to *Powhatans* knowledge, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his ſudden conſent thereunto, who ſome ten daies after ſent an olde vncle of hirs, named *Opachiſco*, to giue her as his deputy in the Church, and two of his ſonnes to ſee the mariage ſolemnized, which was accordingly done about the fift of Aprill, and euer ſince we haue had friendly commerce and trade, not onely with *Powhatan* himſelfe, but alſo with his ſubiects round about vs; ſo as now I ſee no reaſon why the Collonie ſhould not thriue a pace.

Beſides this loue by this meanes with *Powhatan* concluded, it will be worth my paines to runouer our friendſhip with our next neighbours, the *Chicohominies* lately confirmed, a luſtie and daring people, who haue long time liued free from *Powhatans* ſubiection, hauing lawes and gouernors within themſelues: theſe people hearing of our concluded peace with *Powhatan*, as the noiſe thereof was ſoone bruted abroade, ſent two of their men vnto vs, and two fat Bucks for preſent to our king (for ſo Sir Thomas *Dale* is generally reputed and termed amongſt them) and offered themſelues and ſeruice vnto him, alleadging that albeit in former times they had bin our enemies, and we theirs, yet they would now if we pleaſed become not onely our truſtie friends, but euen King IAMES his ſubiects and tributaries, and relinquiſh their old name of *Chicohominies*, and take vpon them, as they call vs the name of *Toſſanteſſas*, and becauſe they haue

no principall commander or *Weroance*, they would intreate Sir Thomas *Dale* as King IAMES his deputie to be their ſupreame head, King and gouernor, and in all iuſt cauſes and quarrels to defend them, as they would be ready at all times to aide him, onely their deſire was to inioy their owne lawes and liberties, and becauſe himſelfe, by reaſon of his many other imployments, beſide the charge he hath of his owne people, may not be alwaies preſent amongſt them, to be gouerned as formerly by eight of the elders and principall men amongſt them, as his ſubſtitutes and councellers, and euen this was the ſumme and effect of their embaſſie. Sir Thomas *Dale* appointed a day to ſend ſome men into their riuer, to propoſe certaine conditions vnto them, wherennto if they aſſented he would gladly accept of their proffered friendſhip, and be himſelfe their *Weroance*: and with this anſwere offering them copper for their veniſon, which they refuſed to take, diſmiſſed them.

When the appointed day came, Sir Thomas *Dale* himſelfe and Captaine *Argall* with 50 men in a barge and frigot, well appointed, leaſt any trecherie might be intended, ſet forward to *Chicohominie*, an arme of our riuer ſome ſeauen miles from Iames Town, where we found the people according to promiſe expecting our comming, aſſembled and met together, who after their beſt and moſt friendly manner, bad vs welcome, and becauſe our buſineſſe at home would permit vs but ſmall time of ſtay with them, they preſently ſent for their principal men, ſome of whom were then abſent, which haſtned vnto vs, & the next morning very early aſſembled, and ſat in counſell about this buſineſſe, Captaine *Argall* (ſupplying Sir Thomas *Dales* place amongſt them, who though there preſent for ſome reſpects, concealed himſelfe, and kept aboarde his barge) after long diſcourſe of their former proceedings

ceedings, Captaine *Argall* tould them, that now ſince they had intreated peace and promiſed their loue and friendſhip, hee was ſent vnto them from the great *Weroance* to conclude the ſame, all former iniuries on both ſides, ſet apart and forgotten, which he would doe vpon theſe conditions.

Firſt that they ſhould take vpon them, as they promiſed, the name of *Taſſantaſſes* or Engliſh men, and be King IAMES his ſubiects, and be foreuer honeſt, faithfull and truſtie vnto his deputie in their countrie.

Secondly, that they ſhould neuer kill any of our men or cattell, but if either our men or cattle ſhould offend them or runne to them, they ſhould bring them home again, and ſhould receiue ſatisfaction for the treſpaſſe done them.

Thirdly, they ſhould at all times be ready and willing to furniſh vs with three or foure hundred bowmen to aide vs *againſt the Spaniards*, whoſe name is odious amongſt them, for *Powhatans* father was driuen by them from the *weſt-Indies* into thoſe parts, or againſt any other *Indians* which ſhould, contrary to the eſtabliſhed peace offer vs any iniurie.

Fourthly, they ſhall not vpon any occaſion whatſoeuer breake downe any of our pales, or come into any of our Townes or forts by any other waies, iſſues or ports then ordinary, but firſt call, and ſay the *Toſſanteſſus* are there, and ſo comming they ſhall at all times be let in, and kindely entertained.

Fifthly, ſo many fighting men as they haue which may be at the leaſt fiue hundred ſhould yeerely bring into our ſtore houſe, at the beginning of their harueſt two buſhels of corne a man, as tribute of their obedience to his Maieſtie, and to his deputy there, for which they ſhould receiue ſo many Iron *Tomahawkes* or ſmall hatchets.

Laſtly, the eight chiefe men which gouerne as ſubſtitutes and Councellors vnder Sir *Tomas Dale*, ſhall at all times ſee theſe Articles and conditions duly performed, for which they ſhall receiue a red coat, or liuery from our King yeerely, and each of them the picture of his Maiesty, ingrauen in Copper, with a chaine of Copper to hang it about his necke, wherby they ſhall be knowne to be King IAMES his noble Men: ſo as if theſe conditions, or any of them be broken, the offenders themſelues ſhall not onely be puniſhed, but alſo thoſe Commaunders, becauſe they ſtand ingaged for them.

After theſe Articles were thus propoſed, the whole aſſembly aſſenting thereunto, anſwered with a great ſhout, and noiſe, that they would readily and willingly performe them all: and immediately began the chiefe of the eight to make an oration to the reſt, bending his ſpeech firſt to the old men, then to the yong men, and in concluſion to the women and children, giuing them thereby to vnderſtand the ſumme of the propoſed conditions: and how ſtrictly they were to obſerue them: in conſideration whereof, he further declared what wee haue promiſed to doe for them, not onely to defend and keepe them from the fury & danger of *Powhatan*, which thing they moſt feared, but euen from all other enemies, domeſticke, or foraigne, and that we would yeerely by trade furniſh them with *Copper*, *Beades*, *Hatchets*, and many other neceſſaries, yea, which liked them beſt, that we would permit them to enioy their owne liberties, freedoms, and lawes, and to be gouerned as formerly, by eight of their chiefeſt men.

It ſhall not be vnneceſſarie to inſert the occaſion (as we imagine) of this their much deſired, vnexpected friendſhip, which was queſtionleſſe ſome ſodaine feare of *Powhatans* diſpleaſure, being vnited with vs,

now

now able to reuenge their diſobedience done vnto him for you muſt imagine, theſe people preſuming vpon their owne ſtrength and number (in no one place in thoſe parts, which we know, ſo many togeather) to haue a long time neglected *Powhatan*, and refuſed, (which the place hath been formerly accutomed, and as his right may challenge the homage and duty of ſubiects, which they ought to haue performed: to which obedience, fearing our power might compell them, they choſe rather to ſubiect themſelues to vs, then being enemies to both, to expoſe & lay themſelues open to *Powhatans* tiranny, & oppreſſion: for this they did chiefely inſiſt vpon, that he was an ill *Weroaules*, full of cruelty, and ininſtice, couetous of thoſe things they had, and implacable if they denyed him whatſoeuer he demaunded, and for theſe reaſons, deſired to be made one people with vs, to curbe the pride and ambition of *Powhatan*, from whom to defend them (they tould vs it would be no breach of peace on our parts, ſince now they were no longer *Chicohomimes*, or *Naturalls*, of that place, but *Toſſanteſſars*, and King IAMES his ſubiects, whom we are bound to defend.

So ſoone as there was an end of ſpeaking, and the peace firmely concluded, and aſſented vnto, Captaine *Argall* by the guift of eight great peeces of *Copper*, and eight great *Tomahawkes*, bound the eight great men, or Councellors to the exact performance, and keeping of the ſame, according to the conditions proclaimed, which they very gladly and thankefully accepted, and returned him, as teſtimonies of their loues, *Veniſon*, *Turkies*, *Freſh fiſh*, *baskets*, *Mats*, and ſuch like things as they were then furniſhed with, and ſo the Councell brooke vp, and then euery man brought to ſell to our men *Skinnes*, *boules*, *mats*, *baſkets*, *tobacco*, *&c.* and became as familiar amongſt

vs,

vs,as if they had been Engliſh men iudeede.

Thus haue I briefely as the matter would permit, diſcourſed our eſtabliſhed friendſhip with the *Naturalls*, and the occaſions thereof, which I hope will continue ſo long betweene vs,till they ſhall haue the vnderſtanding to acknowledge how much they are bound to God for ſending vs amongſt them (then which) what worke would be more acceptable to God,more honourable to our King and counrry?

The greateſt,and many enemies and diſturbers of our proceedings, and that which hath hitherto deterd our people to addreſſe themſelues into theſe parts haue been onely two; emnity with the *Naturalls*,and the bruit of famine: one of theſe two (and that indeede, which was ſome cauſe of the other) I haue already remoued, and ſhall as eaſily take away the other: howbeit it were too great folly (I might ſay impudency in me) to auer that there hath raigned no ſuch infection in the Colony, occaſioned, meerly by miſgouernment, idleneſſe,and faction,and chiefely by the abſence of the euer worthy Commaunders, Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers* by the prouidence of God, miraculouſly wract and ſaued vpon the hopefull *Sumer* Iſlands, ſince my ſelfe cannot but witneſſe (of which I had ſome taſt) in what a miſerable condition, we found the Colony at our ariuall there,from the *Bermudas*, not liuing aboue threeſcore perſons therein, and thoſe ſcarce able to goe alone,of welnigh ſix hundred, not full ten moneths before: yet now I dare and will boldly affirme to the greateſt aduerſary of the Plantation,that ſhall auer the contrary, that there is that plenty of foode, which euery man by his owne induſtry may eaſily,& doth procure that the pooreſt there,& moſt in want,hath not bin ſo much pinched with hunger this 4 yeers that if he would take any pains,he knew

not

not wher to fetch a good meales meate: and true it is, that euery day by the prouidence, and bleſſing of God, and their owne induſtry, they haue more plenty then other, the reaſon hereof is at hand, for formerly, when our people were fedde out of the common ſtore and laboured iointly in the manuring of the ground, and planting corne, glad was that man that could ſlippe from his labour, nay the moſt honeſt of them in a generall buſineſſe, would not take ſo much faithfull and true paines, in a weeke, as now he will doe in a day, neither cared they for the increaſe, preſuming that howſoeuer their harueſt proſpered, the generall ſtore muſt maintain them, by which meanes we reaped not ſo much corne from the labours of 30 men, as three men haue done for themſelues: to preuent which miſchiefe heerafter Sir *Thomas Dale* hath taken a new courſe, throughout the whole Colony, by which meanes, the generall ſtore (apparell onely excepted) ſhall not be charged with any thing: and this it is, he hath allotted to euery man in the Colony, three Engliſh Acres of cleere Corne ground, which euery man is to mature and tend, being in the nature of Farmers, (the *Bermuda* vndertakers onely excepted) and they are not called vnto any ſeruice or labor belonging to the Colony, more then one moneth in the yeere, which ſhall neither be in ſeede time, or in Harueſt, for which, doeing no other duty to the Colony, they are yeerly to pay into the ſtore two barrells and a halfe of Corne: there to be reſerued to keep new men, which ſhall be ſent ouer, the firſt yeere after their arriuall: and euen by this meanes I dare ſay, our ſtore will be bountifully furniſhed, to maintain three or foure hundred men, whenſoeuer they ſhall be ſent thither to vs, that mony which hitherto hath bin disburſed, to prouide a tweluemoneths victualls, if there were but now

halfe ſo much beſtowed in clothes, and bedding, will be ſuch comfort to the men, as euen thereby the liues of many ſhall not onely be preſerued, but alſo themſelues kept in ſtrength and heart, able to performe ſuch buſineſſes, as ſhall be impoſed vpon them: and thus ſhall alſo the former charge be well ſaued, and yet more buſineſſe effected, the action renowned, and more commodity returned to the Merchant, and yet faint for want of encouragement.

Concerning the vndertaking of the *Bermuda* Citty, a buſineſſe of greateſt hope, euer begunne in our Territories there, their Pattent, which I purpoſe in this Treatiſe to inſert, doth apparantly demonſtrate, vpon what termes and conditions they voluntarily haue vndertaken that imployment, how forward that buſineſſe is, in his due place ſhall bee expreſſed, onely giue me leaue with as much breuity as I may, leaſt any man ſhould diuert his minde, and be fearefull to aduenture his perſon thither, for feare of famine and penury, to amplifie a little the plenty there, for if it be true, as moſt certaine it is, that thoſe whom I haue deſcribed vnder the title of Farmers, can pay into our Store, two barrels and a halfe of Corne yeerely. and others who labour eleauen moneths in the generall buſineſſe of the Colony, and but one to prouide themſelues victualls, why ſhould any man (if he be induſtrious) miſtruſt ſtaruing? if otherwiſe for any part, and I thinke all that are ingaged in the Action, and vnderſtand the buſineſſe, accord with me heerein, and would not wiſh his company there, nay they ſhall much wrong themſelues, and the Action, if they doe not withſtand ſuch, and deny them paſſage: for euen they and none elſe haue been the occaſions of the manifould imputations, & diſgraces, which *Virginia* hath innocently vndergon, through their defaults: I would therefore by theſe

relations not onely encourage honeſt and induſtrious: but alſo deterre all laſie, impotent, and ill liuers from addreſſing themſeues thither, as being a Country too worthy for them, and altogeather diſconſonant to their natures, which muſt either brooke labour or hazard, and vndergoe much diſpleaſure, puniſhment, and penury, if they eſcape a thing which few idlers haue don, the ſcuruy diſeaſe, with which few, or none once infected, haue recouered.

To proceed therefore in my incouragement to painefull people, ſuch as either through crotles in this world, or wract rents, or elſe great charge of children and family liue heer, and that not without much care and ſweat, into extreame pouerty: for thoſe this Countrey hath preſent remedy: Euerie ſuch perſon, ſo well diſpoſed to aduenture thither, ſhal ſoon find the difference between their own, and that Country. The affaires in the Colony, being ſo well ordered, and the hardeſt taskes already ouerpaſt, that whoſoeuer (now, or heerafter) ſhall happily arriue there, ſhall finde a hanſome howſe of ſome foure roomes or more, if he haue a family, to repoſe himſelfe in rent freee, and twelue Engliſh Acres of ground, adioyning thereunto, very ſtrongly impailed, which ground is onely allotted vnto him for *Roots*, *Gardaine heurbs*, and *Corne*: neither ſhall hee need to prouide himſelfe, as were wont the firſt planters, of a yeers prouiſion of victualls, for that the ſtore there will bee able to affoord him, & vpon theſe conditions he ſhall bé entertained; He ſhall haue for himſelfe & family, a competent 12 months prouiſion deliuered vnto him, in which time it muſt bee his care to prouide for himſelfe and family euer after, as thoſe already there, to this end he ſhall be furniſhed with neceſſary tooles of all ſorts, and for his better ſubſiſtance he ſhall haue Poultry, and ſwine, and if

he deſerue it, a Goate or two, perhaps a Cow giuen him, which once compaſt, how happily he may liue, as doe many there, who I am ſure will neuer returne, I ſubmit to their own future well experienced iudgements.

Now, leaſt any man ſhould yet reſt diſcouraged becauſe as yet no mention is made of any other prouiſion of victualls, ſaue onely of bread-corne, whih graunt, it may with labour be competently procured, will affoord but a bare, and miſerable liuing, I thinke there is no man ſo ignorant to conceiue, that ſuch a main continent as is *Virginia*, boundleſſe, for ought we haue diſcouered, and ſo goodly Riuers, no where elſe to be parralled, ſhould be more barraine of Cattell, Fiſh, and Foule, then other Lands, aſſuredly they are not: for true it is, that the Land is ſtored with plenty and variety of wilde beaſts, Lions, Bears, Deere of all ſorts, (onely differing from ours in their increaſe, hauing vſuall, three or foure Fawnes at a time, none that I haue ſeen or heard off vnder two: the reaſon whereof ſom of our people aſcribe to the vertue of ſome graſſe or hearb which they eate, becauſe our Goats often times bring foorth three, and moſt of them two: for my part I rather impute their fecundity to the prouidence of God, who for euery mouth prouideh meate, and if this increaſe were not, the Naturalls would aſſuredly ſtarue: for of the Deere (they kill as doe wee Beefes in *England*) all the yeer long, neither ſparing yong nor olde, no not the Does readie to fawne, nor the yong fawnes, if but two daies ould) *Beauers*, *Otters*, *Foxes*, *Racounes*, almoſt as big as a *Fox*, as good meat as a lamb, *hares*, *wild Cats*, *muske rats*, *Squirills* flying, and other of three or foure ſorts, *Apoſſumes*, of the bigneſſe and likeneſſe of a Pigge, of a moneth ould, a beaſt of as ſtrange as incredible nature, ſhe hath commonly ſeauen

uen yong ones, ſometimes more and ſometimes leſſe which at her pleaſure till they be a moneth olde or more ſhe taketh vp into her belly, and putteth forth againe without hurt to her ſelfe or them.

Of each of theſe beaſts, the Lion excepted, my ſelfe haue many times eaten, and can teſtifie that they are not onely taſtefull, but alſo wholeſome and nouriſhing foode.

There are foule of diuers ſorts, *Eagles, wilde Turkeis* much bigger then our Engliſh, *Cranes, Herons* white and ruſſet, *Hawkes, wilde Pigeons* (in winter beyond number or imagination, my ſelfe haue ſeene three or foure houres together flockes in the aire, ſo thicke that euen they haue ſhaddowed the skie from vs) *Turckie Buſſards, Partridge, Snipes, Owles, Swans, Geeſe, Brants, Ducke* and *Mallard, Droeis, Shel Drakes Cormorants, Teale, Widgeon, Curlewes, Puits*, beſides other ſmall birds, as Blacke-birde, hedge ſparrowes, Oxeies, wood peckers, and in winter about Chriſtmas many flockes of *Parakertoths*.

For fiſh the Riuers are plentifiully ſtored, with *Sturgion Porpaſſe, Baſe, Rockfiſh, Carpe, Shad, Herring, Ele, Catfiſh, Perch, Flat-fiſh, Troute, Sheepes-head, Drummers, Iarfiſh, Creuiſes, Crabbes, Oiſters* and diuerſe other kindes, of all which my ſelfe haue ſeene great quantity taken, eſpecially the laſt ſummer at *Smiths Iſland*, at one hale, a frigots lading of Sturgion, Baſe and other great fiſh in Captaine *Argals* Sauie: and euen at that very place which is not aboue fifteene miles from *Pointcomfort*, if we had beene furniſhed with ſalt, to haue ſaued it, wee might haue taken as much fiſh as would haue ſerued vs that whole yeere.

Nor are theſe prouicion of bread, fleſh and fiſh, al we haue for ſuſtentation of mans life, behold more change and variety of foode, which our ſoile and climate affordeth, *Carrats, Parſneps, Turneps, Raddiſh,*

Pumpions (of the weſt Indie kinde in great abundance, of one ſeede I haue ſeen an hundreth, much better then ours and laſting all the yeere) *Cabbadge, Parſley*, all manner of pot herbs and other hearbes, *Margerum, Time, winter-Sauory, Lettice Purſlaine*, &c, and beſides the naturall graine of that Country, as wheate peaſe and beanes, it did me much good to view our Engliſh wheate how forward it was, full eard, of one graine fortie eares or more, a ſpan long, and onely wanting ripening in *mid Iune*, our Engliſh peaſe then ripe, and beanes very forward, and Engliſh barly very hopefull, ſuch as mine eies neuer beheld, better in England: And if that ſoile bring forth theſe things (as can thoſe which haue bin there with me affirme and witneſſe) as plentifull and vnchangeable for taſte and quantity as England or any other country, why ſhold any man that hath his limbes, in a peaceable ſtate as is that, ſo much as dreame of ſtaruing?

To goe yet a little further, I my ſelfe know no one Country yeelding without art or induſtry ſo manie fruites, ſure I am England doth: wilde grapes in abundance al the woods ouer, their iuice ſweete and pleaſant in taſte, ſome of them wee haue replanted in a vineyard adioyning to *Henrico*, the quantity of three or foure Akers which were this yeere very plentifully laden, to what perfection they will come, the next returne will aduertiſe: *Cherries* little inferior to ours, which if replanted may proone as much better as now they are worſe *Piſſmien plums* in bygnes and faſhion like a *Medlar* of a ſlipricke quality, other ſorts of plummes like to our wheat plums, and in goodnes anſwerable: great fields and woods abounding with *Strawberies* much fairer and more ſweete then ours, *Mulberries* of great bigneſſe, and about the *Bermuda* Cittie and *Hundirds* thereunto belonging great ſtore thereof, *Maricocks* of the faſhion of a Lemmon whoſe bloſſome

bloſſome may admit compariſon with our moſt delightſome and bewtifull flowers, and the fruite exceeding pleaſant and taſtfull: *Cheſnut-trees* towards the fals as many as oakes, and as fertile, many goodly groues of *Chincomen trees* with a huske like vnto a Cheſnut, raw or boyled, luſcious and harty meate: Walnuts of three or foure ſorts, whereof there might be yeerely made great quantity of oyles, as vſefull and good as that of Oliues: ſome filberds I haue ſeene, Crabbes great ſtore, leſſe, but not ſo ſower as ours, which grafted with the *Siens* of Engliſh aple trees, without queſtion would beare very good fruite, and we doubt not but to haue the *Siens* enough the next yeere, there being in Sir Thomas *Gates* his garden at Iames town, many forward apple & peare trees come vp, of the kernels ſet the yeere before.

If all this be not ſufficient, loe further incouragement, the collony is already furniſhed with two hundred neate cattell, as many goates, infinite hogges in heards all ouer the woods, beſides thoſe to euerie towne belonging in generall, and euery priuate man, ſome Mares, Horſes & Colts, Poultry great ſtore, beſides tame Turkeis, Peacockes and Pigeons plentifully increaſing and thriuing there, in no Countrie better.

Of our yong Steeres the next winter we doubt not to haue three or foure Ploughes going, which once compaſt, we ſhall in ſhort time be able to repay England the corne they haue lent vs.

If I knew yet any further impediments which might ſeeme to giue diſcouragement to aduenture thither, I ſhould as eaſily remoue them.

Obiect that pleaſeth the want of cloathes, ſo long as there are wilde beaſts there, and the beaſts haue skinnes on their backes (if the neceſſity were ſuch) why ſhould not we as doe the naturals, cloath our

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ſelues therewith, it is no worſe then our fore-fathers haue worne before vs, and ſuch as will ſaue vs from the colde in winter, and heate in ſummer: but admit there were no skinnes or being there, our people diſdaine to weare them. If there be any man that hath beene ſo ill an husband here that he cannot furniſh himſelfe with a yeeres prouiſion of apparrell; if I might counſell he ſhould not be ſuffered to goe thither, for that country is not for him, as for others who can prouide apparrell for the firſt yeere, I holde him a worſe husband then the former, that ſhall at any time after be worſe cloathed then he went ouer: the valuable commoditie of Tobacco of ſuch eſteeme in England (if there were nothing elſe) which euery man may plant, and with the leaſt part of his labour, tend and care will returne him both cloathes and other neceſſaries. For the goodneſſe whereof, anſwerable to *weſt-Indie Trinidado* or *Craeus* (admit there hath no ſuch bin returned) let no man doubt. Into the diſcourſe wherof, ſince I am obuiouſly entred, I may not forget the gentleman, worthie of much commendations, which firſt tooke the pains to to make triall thereof, his name Mr Iohn *Rolfe*, *Anno Domini* 1612. partly for the loue he hath a long time borne vnto it, and partly to raiſe commodity to the aduenturers, in whoſe behalfe I witneſſe and vouchſafe to holde my teſtimony in beleefe, that during the time of his aboade there, which draweth neere vpon ſixe yeeres, no man hath laboured to his power, by good example there and worthy incouragement into England by his letters, then he hath done, witnes his mariage with *Powhatans* daughter, one of rude education, manners barbarous and curſed generation, meerely for the good and honour of the Plantation: And leaſt any man ſhould conceiue that ſome ſiniſter reſpects allured him hereunto, I haue made bold con-

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trary to his knowledge in the end of my treatiſe to inſert the true coppie of his letter, written to Sir Thomas *Dale* to acquaint him with his proceedings, and purpoſe therein, the rather to giue teſtimony to the miſconſtruing and ill cenſuring multitude of his integritie, in the vndertaking a matter of ſo great a conſequent, who in my hearing haue not ſpared to ſpeak their pleaſures; his owne letter hits them home, and the better ſort, who know to cenſure iudiciouſly cannot but highly commend and approue ſo worthy an vndertaking.

Thus farre I haue applied my ſelfe to incourage perſonall Aduenturers: I would gladly now by worthy motiues, allure the heauie vndertakers to perſiſt with alacritie and cheerefulneſſe, both for their owne reputations, the honour of God, and their King and Country. The worthier ſort, I meane thoſe Nobles and others of that honourable counſell intereſſed therein, neede no ſpurre, their owne innate vertues driues them a pace. The Merchant onely wants ſome feeling and preſent returne of thoſe commodities which he is perſwaded the country affordeth: to them therefore I will addreſſe my ſpeech, and if I may perſwade them to be conſtant in their proceedings, ſome ſmall time longer, the benefit will be the greater and the more welcome when it commeth.

It is not for nothing Sir Thomas *Dale*, ſo noblie without reſpect to his liuing, to his Lady here in England, paſt the prefixed time of his reſolued returne, yet remaineth there; I am ſure if he pleaſed he might returne with as much honour as any man from thence, I ſay not more.

I ſhall little neede, and indeede it were but waſt and Idle for me to repeate and mention the commodities, which with onely labour may bee there procured: many Treatiſes hath them at full. Sam-

ples haue beene ſent home, and no man diſputeth the goodnes, or the quantitie there to be had: take therefore double courage to your ſelues, and let theſe two yeeres neglect be reſtored by a cheerefull and new enſet, and for your incouragement reade yet a little further, and view the face of the Colony, euen ſuperficially portraide: ſee what effects theſe three yeeres haue wrought.

In *May* 1611 Sir Thomas *Dale*, with a proſperous paſſage, not full eight weekes arriued there, with him about three hundred people, ſuch as for the preſent ſpeede, and diſpatch could then be prouided, of worſe condition then thoſe formerly there, who I ſorrow to ſpeake it, were not ſo prouident, though once before bitten with hunger and pennury, as to put corne into the gound for their winters bread, but truſted to the ſtore, then furniſhed but with eight months prouiſiõ. His firſt care therfore was to imploy al hands about ſetting of Corne at the two Forts, ſeated vpon *Kecoughtan*, *Henry* and *Charles*, whereby the ſeaſon then not fully paſt, though about the end of May, we had there an indifferent Crop of good corn.

This buſineſſe taken order for, and the care and truſt of it committed to his vnder officers, to *Iames Towne* he haſtened, where the moſt company were, and their daily and vſuall workes, bowling in the ſtreetes, theſe he imployed about neceſſary workes, as felling of Timber, repairing their houſes ready to fall vpon their heads, and prouiding pales, poſts and railes to impaile his purpoſed new Towne, which by reaſon of his ignorance in thoſe parts, but newly arriued there, he had not reſolued where to ſeate. For his better knowledge therefore of thoſe parts, himſelfe with an hundreth men, ſpent ſome time in diſcouery, firſt *Nanſamund Riuer*, which in diſpight of the Indians, then our enemies, he diſcouered to the head

head, after that, our owne Riuer, to the fals, where-vpon a high land inuironed with the mayn Riuer, ſom ſixteene or twentie miles, from the head of the Fals, neere to an Indian Towne called *Arſahattocke*, he reſolued to plant his new Towne, and ſo did, whereof in his due place I ſhall make a briefe relation.

It was no meane trouble to him, to reduce his people, ſo timely to good order, being of ſo ill a condition as may well witneſſe his ſeuere and ſtrict imprinted booke of Articles, then needefull with all ſeuerity and extremity to be executed, now much mitigated, for more deſerued death in thoſe daies, then do now the leaſt puniſhment, ſo as if the law ſhould not haue reſtrained by execution, I ſee not how the vtter ſubuerſion and ruine of the Colony ſhould haue bin preuented, witneſſe Webbes and Priſes deſigne the firſt yeere, ſince that Abbots and others more daungerous then the former, and euen this ſummer, Coles and Kitchins Plot, with three more, bending their courſe towards the Southward, to a *Spaniſh Plantation*, reported to be there, who had trauelled (it being now a time of peace) ſome fiue daies iorney to *Ocanahoen*, there cut off by certaine Indians, hired by vs to hunt them home to receiue their deſerts. So as Sir Thomas *Dale* hath not bin tyranous, nor ſeuere at all; Indeede the offences haue bin capitall, and the offenders dangerous, incurable members, for no vſe ſo fit as to make examples to others, but the manner of their death may ſome obiect, hath bin cruell, vnuſuall and barbarous, which indeede they haue not bin, witneſſe France, and other Countries for leſſe offences: what if they haue bin more ſeuere then vſuall in England, there was iuſt cauſe for it, we were rather to haue regard to thoſe whom we would haue terrified, and made fearefull to commit the like offences, then to the offenders iuſtly condemned, It being true that

amongſt thoſe people (who for the moſt part are ſencible onely of the bodies torment) the feare of a cruell, painefull and vnuſuall death, more reſtrains them then death it ſelfe.

Thus much obuiouſly, I proceede in his indeuours vntill Sir Thomas *Gates* his happie arriuall, which was onely in preparing timber, pales, poſts and railes for the preſent impaling this new Towne to ſecure himſelfe and men from the mallice and trechery of the Indians, in the midſt and hart of whom, he was reſolued to ſet downe, but before he could make himſelfe ready for that buſineſſe, Sir Thomas *Gates* though his paſſage more long then vſuall, to ſecond him herein, happily arriued about the ſecond of Auguſt, with ſixe good Shippes, men, prouiſions and cattle, whom as yet not fully diſcouered, we ſuppoſed to be a Spaniſh fleete, thus induced the rather to beleeue, becauſe in company with him were three *Caruals*, veſſels which neuer before had bin ſent thither, and now onely for the tranſportation of the Cattle. It did mee much good, and gaue great courage to the whole company to ſee the reſolution of Sir Thomas *Dale*, now wholy buſied (our land fortifications to weake to withſtand a forraigne Enemy) in lading our prouiſions aboard the two good Shippes, the *Starre* and *Proſperous*, and our own *Deliuerance*, then riding before *Iames* town, aboarde which Shippes, he had reſolued to encounter the ſuppoſed Enemy, animating his people, not onely with the hope of victory if they readily obeied his direction, but alſo aſſuring them that if by theſe meanes God had ordained to ſet a period to their liues, they could neuer be ſacrificed in a more acceptable ſeruice, himſelfe promiſing, rather to fire the *Spaniſh* Shippes with his owne, then either baſely to yeelde, or to be taken: and in nothing he ſeemed ſo much diſcontent as that we could not poſſibly lade aboarde

boarde all our prouiſions before (the winde being then very faire) they might haue bin with vs, whileſt therefore the reſt were labouring their vtmoſt to lade aboarde our prouiſions, hee cauſed a ſmall ſhallop to be manned with thirty readie and good ſhot to diſcouer directly what Shippes they might be, and withall ſpeede to returne him certaine word, which within three houres they did, aſſuring him that is was an Engliſh fleete, Sir Thomas *Gates* Generall thereof: which newes how welcome it was vnto him, principally becauſe now he doubted not the happie progreſſion of the affaires in hand, let any man (equally with him affected to the good and welfare of the action) iudge and determine.

The worthies being met, after ſalutation and welcome giuen, and receiued, Sir Thomas *Dale* acquainted Sir Thomas *Gates* both with ſuch buſineſſes as he had affected ſince his arriuall, and alſo of his reſolution to builde a new Towne, at the *Fales*, which deſigne and purpoſe of his, Sir Thomas *Gates* then principall Gouernour in *Virginia*, well approuing, furniſhed him with three hundred and fiftie men, ſuch as himſelfe made choiſe of, and the beginning of *September* 1611 he ſet from *Iames* town, and in a day & a halfe, landed at a place where he purpoſed to ſeate & builde, where he had not bin ten daies before he had very ſtrongly impaled ſeuen Engliſh Acres of ground for a towne, which in honour of the noble Prince *Henrie* (of euer happie and bleſſed memory, whoſe royall heart was euer ſtrongly affected to that action) he called by the name of *Henrico*. No ſooner was he thus fenced, and in a manner ſecured from the Indians, but his next worke (without reſpect to his owne health or particular welfare) was building at each corner of the towne, very ſtrong and high commanders or watch-towers, a faire and handſome Church, and ſtorehou-

ſes, which finiſhed he began to thinke vpon conuenient houſes, and lodgings for himſelfe and men, which with as much ſpeede as was poſſible, were more ſtrongly and more handſome then any formerly in *Virginia*, contriued and finiſhed, and euen in foure moneths ſpace, he had made *Henrico* much better and of more worth then all the worke euer ſince the Colonie began, therein done.

I ſhould be to tedious if I ſhould giue vp the accompt of euery daies labour, which therefore I purpoſly omit, and will onely deſcribe the towne, in the very ſtate and perfection wich I left it, and firſt for the ſituation, it ſtandes vpon a neck of a very high land, 3 parts thereof inuironed with the main Riuer, and cut ouer betweene the two Riuers, with a ſtrong pale, which maketh the neck of land an Iſland. There is in this town 3 ſtreets of well framed howſes, a hanſom Church, and the foundation of a more ſtately one laid, of Brick, in length, an hundred foote, and fifty foot wide, beſide Store houſes, watch houſes, and ſuch like: there are alſo, as ornaments belonging to this Town, vpon the verge of this Riuer, fiue faire Block houſes, or commaunders, wherein liue the honeſter ſort of people, as in Farmes in *England*, and there keepe continuall centinell for the townes ſecurity, and about two miles from the towne into the Main, a Pale of two miles in length, cut ouer from riuer to riuer, garded likewiſe with ſeuerall Commanders, with a great quantity of corne ground impaled, ſufficient if there were no more in the Colony ſecured, to maintain with but eaſiy manuring, and huſbandry, more men, then I ſuppoſe, will be addreſſed thither, (the more is the pitty) theſe 3 yeeres.

For the further enlargement yer of this Town, on the other ſide of the Riuer, by impaling likewiſe: for we make no other fence, is ſecured to our vſe, eſpeci-

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ally for our hogges to feede in, about twelue Engliſh miles of ground, by name, *Hope in faith*, *Coxen-Dale*, ſecured by fiue Forts, called, *Charity Fort*, *Mount malado*, a *retreat*, or *gueſt houſe* for ſick people, a high ſeat, and wholſome aire, *Elzabeth Fort*, and *Fort patience*: and heere hath Mr. *Whitacres* choſen his Parſonage, or Church land, ſom hundred Acres impaled, and a faire framed parſonage houſe built thereupon, called *Rocke Hall* of this Towne, and all the Forts thereunto belonging, hath Captaine *Iames Dauis*, the principall Commaunde, and Gouernment.

I proceed to our next and moſt hopefull habitation, whether we reſpect commodity, or ſecurity, (which we principally aime at) againſt forraigne deſignes, and inuaſions, I meane the *Bermuda* Citty, begun about Chriſtmas laſt, which becauſe it is the neereſt adioyning to *Henrico*, though the laſt vndertaken, I hould it pertinent to handle inthe next place. This Towne, or plantation is ſeated by land, ſome 5 miles from *Henrico*, by water fourteene, being the yeer before the habitation of the *Appamatucks*, to reuenge the trecherous iniurie of thoſe people, done vnto vs, taken from them, beſides all their Corne, the former before without the loſſe of any, ſaue onely ſome few of thoſe Indians, pretending our hurt) at what time Sir *Thomas Dale*, being himſelf vpon that ſeruice, and duly conſidering how commodious a habitation and ſeat it might be for vs, tooke reſolution to poſſeſſe and plant it, and at that very inſtant, gaue it the name of the new *Bermudas*, whereunto he hath laid out, and annexed to be belonging to the freedome, and corporation for euer, many miles of Champion, and woodland, in ſeuerall Hundreds, as the vpper and nether Hundreds, *Rochdale* hundred, *Weſts Sherly* hundred, and *Digges* his hundred. In the nether

nether hundred he firſt began to plant, and inhabite for that there lyeth the moſt conuenient quantity of Corne ground, and with a Pale cut ouer from Riuer to Riuer, about two miles long, wee haue ſecurd ſome eight miles circuit of ground, the moſt part champion, and exceeding good Corne ground, vpon which pale, and round about, vpon the verge of the Riuer in this Hundred, halfe a mile diſtant from each other, are vey faire houſes, already builded, beſides diuers other particular mens houſes, not ſo few as fifty, according to the conditions of the patent graunted them, which who ſo pleaſeth to peruſe, ſhall in the end of my diſcourſe finde it inſerted. In this Plantation next to Sir *Thomas Dale* is principal, in the Commaund, Captaine *Georg Yardley*, Sir *Thomas Gates* his lieftenaunt, who ſe endeauours haue euer deſerued worthy commendations in that imployment. *Rochdale* Hundred by a croſſe pale, well nigh foure miles long, is alſo already impaled, with bordering houſes all along the pale, in which Hundred our hogges, and other cattell haue twenty miles circuit to graze in ſecurely. The vndertaking of the chiefe Citty deferred till their Harueſt be in, which once reaped, all hands ſhall be imployed theron, which Sir *Thomas Dale* purpoſeth, and he may with ſome labour effect his deſignes, to make an impregnable retreat, againſt any forraign inuaſion, how powrefull ſo euer.

About fifty miles from this ſeat, on the other ſide of the Riuers, is *Iames* towne ſituate, vpon a goodly and fertile Iſland: which although formerly ſcandoled with vnhealthfull aire, we haue ſince approued as healthfull as any other place in the country: and this I can ſay by mine own experience, that that corn and gardaine ground (which with much labour beeing when we firſt ſeated vpon it, a thick wood) wee

haue

haue cleered, and impaled, is as fertile as any other we haue had experience and triall off. The Towne it ſelfe by the care and prouidence of Sir *Thomas Gates*, who for the moſt part had his chiefeſt reſidence there, is reduced into a hanſome forme, and hath in it two faire rowes of howſes, all of framed Timber, two ſtories, and an vpper Garret, or Corne loft high, beſides three large, and ſubſtantiall Store-howſes, ioyned togeather in length ſome hundred and twenty foot, and in breadth forty, and this town hath been lately newly, and ſtrongly impaled, and a faire platforme for Ordenance in the weſt Bulwarke raiſed: there are alſo without this towne in the Iſland, ſome very pleaſant, and beutifull howſes, two Blockhouſes, to obſerue and watch leaſt the Indians at any time ſhould ſwim ouer the back riuer, and come into the Iſland, and certain other farme howſes. The commaund and gouernment of this town, hath maſter *Iohn Scarpe*, Liftenant to Captain *Francis Weſt*, Brother to the right Honourable, the Lord *Lawarre*.

From *Iames* towne downewards, ſome forty and odde miles at the mouth of the riuer, neer *Point Comfort*, vpon *Kecoughtan*, are two pleaſant and commodious Forts, *Henrie* and *Charles*, goodly ſeats, and much corne ground about them, abounding with the commodities of *fiſh*, *fowle*, *Deere*, and fruits, where by the men liue there, with halfe that maintenaunce out of the Store, which in other places is allowed: certainly this habitation would bee no whit inferiour to the beſt we haue there, ſaue, as yet, with the poore meanes we haue; we cannot ſecure it, if a forraigne enemy, as we haue iuſt cauſe to expect daily ſhould attempt it. And of theſe Forts, Captain *Georg Web* was lately eſtabliſhd the principall Commander.

It hath been our greateſt care, and labour hitherto, and yet but theſe three yeers, the former foure meerely miſpent, to compaſſe theſe buſineſſes, which being thus ſetled, and brought to ſuch perfection, as I haue deſcribed, now doth the time approch, that commodity may be expected, and if meanes bee ſent ouer, will aſſuredly be returned. What honeſt ſpirit, hauing hitherto laboured herein, would at the vpſhot (as I may ſo term it) be diſcouraged or deſiſt? I hope none, rather more will be animated, (if need require) to put too their helping hands and purſes.

And euen thus I haue ſhaddowed I hope, without the guilt of tedious, or prolix diſcourſes (as I haue been able) the trne condition (though many circumſtances omitted) of *Virginia*, what may the ſubſtance be, when the externall ſhew is ſo forward, ſo glorious.

I haue purpoſely omitted the relation of the Contry commodities, which euery former treatiſe hath abundantly, the hope of the better mines, the more baſe, as Iron, Allom, and ſuch like, Perfectly diſcouered, and made triall off, and ſurely of theſe things I cannot make ſo ample relation, as others, who in the diſcouery of thoſe affaires, haue bin, then my ſelfe more often conuerſant, onely of the hopefull, and marchantable commodities of tobacco, ſilke graſſe, and ſilke wormes: I dare thus much affirme, and firſt of Tobacco, whoſe goodneſſe mine own experience and triall induces me to be ſuch, that no country vnder the Sunne, may, or doth affoord more pleaſant, ſweet, and ſtrong Tobacco, then I haue taſted there, euen of mine owne planting, which, howſoeuer being then the firſt yeer of our triall thereof, wee had not the knowledge to cure, and make vp, yet are ther ſome now reſident there, out of the laſt yeers well obſerued experience, which both know, and I doubt

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not, will make, and returne ſuch Tobacco this yeere, that euen England ſhall acknowledge the goodneſſe thereof.

Now I proceed to the ſilke graſſe which groweth like vnto our flax, I meane not, of that kinde formerly ſent ouer, I haue ſeen, euen of the naturall, and wilde plants, which Captaine *Martin*, who much delighteth in thoſe buſineſſes, hath made, exceeding fine, and exceeding ſtrong ſilke, and himſelfe hath replanted many of the wilde plants this yeere, the ſilke whereof he purpoſeth to returne for triall.

The ſilke wormes ſent thither from *England*, in ſeeds the laſt winter, came foorth many of them the beginning of *March*, others in *April*, *Maye*, and *Iune*, thouſands of them grown to great bigneſſe, and a ſpinning, and the reſt well thriuing of their increaſe, and commodity well knowne to be reaped by them, we haue all moſt aſſurance (ſince ſure I am) no Country affoordeth more ſtore of *Mulbery* trees, or a kind with whoſe leafe they more delight, or thriue better.

It may be heere happily expected, that I ſhould giue vp the relation of Captaine *Argalls* particular voyages and indeauours, and euen as in a Plat, demonſtrate his Norward diſcoueries, from which buſineſſe I deſire to be excuſed, partly, becauſe himſelfe is beſt able to make his owne relations, and partly, becauſe my home imployments would not permit me leiſure to accompany him, though my ſelfe deſirous, in any of his voyages, whoſe indeauours, if I ſhould indeauour to make knowne, and publiſh, could receiue no honour at all by my commendations, or deſcriptions: much might they be impaired, through my ignorance, or vnskilfullnes to ſet them foorth: yet cannot I omit to publiſh to the world, what preſent reliefe he hath don to the Colony, furniſhing

niſhing vs by two trading voyages, with three and twenty hundred buſhels of Corne, into our ſtore deliuered: beſide, what he reſerued for his mens prouiſion, what he beſtowed vpon well deſeruers, and what his men appropriated.

I paſſe by the benefit of peace in thoſe parts, by reaſon of his Captiue *Pochahuntas*, concluded eſtabliſhed, and will onely name the commoditie by his meanes done vnto vs, in repairing of our weatherbeten boats, and furniſhing vs with new, both ſtrong, and vſefull without whoſe aſſiſtance heerin, vnleſſe wee ſhould haue omitted other neceſſary imployments, I ſee not how we ſhould haue had paſſage one to another.

His Norward diſcoueries towards *Sacadehoc*, and beyond to *Port royall*, *Sancta Crux*, and thereabout may not be concealed: In which his aduentures, if he had brought home no commodity to the Colony, (which yet he did very much, both of apparrell, victualls, and many other neceſſaries) the honour which he hath done vnto our Nation, by diſplanting the French, there beginning to ſeate & fortifie within our limits, and taking of their Ship and Pinnas, which he brought to *Iames* Towne, would haue been reward enough for his paines, and will euer ſpeake loud his honour, and approued valour.

I haue heard it credibly reported, euen from the mouth of Captaine *Argall*, that in one ſmall Shippe, and in one voyage, the French haue cleered eight thouſand pounds by trade with the Indians, for furs, which benefit will be as eaſily by vs procured.

It is true the *Saluadges* there inhabiting (before Captaine *Argalls* arriuall) eſteemed the French as Demy-Gods, and had them in great eſtimation: but ſeeing them vanquiſhed and ouercom by vs, forſook them, yea, which is no meane point of pollicy, deſi-

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red our friendſhip, telling Captaine *Argall*, that hee had vndone them for euer, for that the French by yeerely trade with them for Furres, furniſhed them with many neceſſaries, whereof they had great want, which trade by this meanes might happily be hinde-red. But Captaine *Argall* hath agreed with them to reſerue their Furres for him, and promiſed them, once a yeere to come thither, and truck with them: they ſeemed very well content, aſſuring him, that though the French ſhould at any time arriue there, and proffer them trade, they would reſerue all their Furs for him; and what profit by this meanes onely, may be returned to the *Virginia* aduenturers, I ſub-mit to Captaine *Argalls* owne oppinion and iudge-ment.

I purpoſely omitted one thing in the Treatiſe of our concluded peace, wherewith I intend to conclud my diſcourſe, which already I haue drawne to a lon-ger period then I purpoſed, whereby wee haue ga-thered the better aſſu ance, of their honeſt inward in-tentions, and this it is.

It pleaſed Sir *Thomas Dale* (my ſelfe being much deſirous before my returne for *England*, to viſit *Pow-hatan*, & his Court, becauſe I would be able to ſpeak ſomwhat thereof by mine own knowledge) to im-ploy my ſelfe, and an engliſh boy for my Interpre-ter on *Thomas Salvage* (who had liued three yeers with *Powhatan*, and ſpeaker the language naturally, one whom *Powhatan* much affecteth) vpon a meſ-ſage vnto him, which was to deale with him, if by any meanes I might procure a daughter of his, who (*Pochahuntas* being already in our poſſeſſion) is ge-nerally reported to be his delight, and darling, and ſurely he eſteemeth her as his owne ſoule) for ſure-t pledge of peace.

I departed the fifteenth of May early in the mor-ning

ning, with the Engliſh Boy, and two Indian guides, from the Bermudas, and came to his court or reſidence (as I iudge ſome three ſcore miles diſtant from vs, being ſeated at the head almoſt of *Pamaunkie* Riuer, at a towne called *Match(ot)* the next night after, about twelue of the clocke, the former night lodging in the open woods, feareles and without daunger: when we were come oppoſite to his Towne, the maine riuer betweene him and vs, leaſt at any time we ſhould martch by land vnto him vndiſcouered: my Indian guides called for a Canoa (a boate made onely of one tree, after the faſhion of a hollow trough) to tranſport vs, giuing them to know that there was two Engliſh ſent vpon buſineſſe to *Powhatan* from the Engliſh *Weroance*, which once knowne, a Canoa was preſently ſent, and we ferried ouer, *Powhatan* himſelfe attending at the landing place to welcome vs. His firſt ſalutation was to the Boy, whom he very wel remembred, after this manner: my childe you are welcome, you haue bin a ſtraunger to me theſe foure yeeres, at what time I gaue you leaue to goe to *Paſpahae* (for ſo was Iames towne called before our ſeating there) to ſee your friends, and till now you neuer returned: you (ſaid he) are my child, by the donatiue of Captaine *Newport*, in liew of one of my ſubiects *Namontacke*, who I purpoſely ſent to King Iames his land, to ſee him and his country, and to returne me the true report thereof, he as yet is not returned, though many ſhips haue arriued here from thence, ſince that time, how ye haue delt with him I know not? hauing thus ended his ſpeech to him, he addreſſed himſelf to me, and his firſt ſalutation, without any words at all, was about my necke, and with his hand he feeled round about it, ſo as I might haue imagined he would haue cut my throate, but that I knew he durſt not, he asked me where the chaine of pearle

pearle was, I demaunded what chaine: that, ſaid he, which I ſent my Brother Sir *Thomas Dale* for a preſent, at his firſt arriuall: which chaine, ſince the peace concluded, he ſent me word, if he ſent any Engliſhman vpon occaſion of buſines to me, he ſhould weare about his necke, otherwiſe I had order from him to binde him and ſend him home againe. It is true Sir *Thomas Dale* had ſent him ſuch word (which till then my ſelfe neuer heard of) and for this purpoſe had giuen his Page order to deliuer me the ſaid chaine, who forgot it: I was doubtfull at the firſt how to anſwere him, yet preſently I replied that I was not ignorant of that meſſage from his brother, formerly ſent vnto him, whereby he onely entended that if vpon extraordinary and ſudden occaſion, he ſhould be conſtrained to ſend an Engliſh man vnto him without an Indian guide, then in teſtimonie that he ſent him hee ſhould weare the chaine about his neeke: but in caſe any of his owne people ſhould conduct any Engliſh vnto him, as did me, two of his owne men, one of them a Counceller vnto him, who was acquainted with my buſineſſe, I their teſtimony ſhould be ſufficient, and the chaine then needeleſſe to be worne, which anſwere pleaſed him well, and fourthwith he brought vs to his houſe, not full a ſtones caſt from the waterſide, whereinto being come, himſelfe ſat downe on his bedſteade ſide, bed there was none more then a ſingle mat, on each hand of him was placed a comely and perſonable young woman, not twenty yeeres old the eldeſt, which they call his Queenes, the houſe with in round about bee ſet with them, the outſide guarded with an hundred bowmen, with their quiuers of arrowes at their backes, which at all times, & places attend his perſon.

The firſt thing hee offered vs was a pipe of Tobacco, which they call *Piſſamore*, whereof himſelfe firſt

firſt dranke, and then gaue it me, and when I had drank what I pleaſed, I returned his pipe, which with his owne hands he vouchſafed to take from me: then began he to inquire how his Brother Sir *Thomas Dale* fared, after that of his daughters welfare, her mariage, his vnknowne ſonne, and how they liked, liued and loued together: I reſolued him that his brother was very well, and his daughter ſo well content that ſhe would not change her life to returne and liue with him, whereat he laughed heartily, and ſaid he was very glad of it. Now proceede (ſaid he) to deliuer the cauſe of your vnexpected comming; I certified him my meſſage was priuate, to be deliuered to himſelfe, without the preſence of any ſaue one of his Councellers, by name *Pepaſchicher*, one of my guides, who was acquainted with my buſineſſe, he inſtantly commanded all, both men and women out of the houſe, his two Queenes onely excepted, who vpon no occaſion whatſoeuer, may ſequeſter themſelues Now (ſaid he) ſpeake on, and my ſelfe by my interpreter thus begun. Sir *Thomas Dale* your Brother, the principal commander of the Engliſh men, ſends you greeting of loue and peace, on his part inuiolable, and hath in teſtimonie thereof (by me ſent you a worthie preſent, *viz.* two large peeces of copper, fiue ſtrings of white and blew beades, fiue wodden combes, ten fiſh-hookes, and a paire of kniues, all which I deliuered him, one thing after another, that he might haue time to view each particular: He willed me alſo to certifie you, that when you pleaſed to ſend men, he would giue you a great grinding ſtone: my meſſage and gift hitherto pleaſed him, I proceeded thus. The bruite of the exquiſite perfection of your yongeſt daughter, being famous through all your territories, hath come to the hearing of your Brother Sir *Thomas Dale*, who for this purpoſe hath addreſſed me hither

ther, to intreate you by that brotherly friendſhip you make profeſſion of, to permit her (with me) to returne vnto him, partly for the deſire which himſelfe hath, and partly for the deſire her ſiſter hath to ſee her of whom, if fame hath not bin prodigall, as like enough it hath not, your brother (by your fauour) would gladly make his neereſt companion, wife and bedfellow (many times he would haue interrupted my ſpeech, which I intreated him to heare out, and then if he pleaſed to returne me anſwere) and the reaſon hereof is, becauſe being now friendly and firmely vnited together, and made one people (as he ſuppoſeth and beleeues) in the band of loue, he would make a naturall vnion betweene vs, principally becauſe himſelfe hath taken reſolution to dwel in your country ſo long as he liueth, and would therefore not only haue the firmeſt aſſurance hee may, of perpetuall friendſhip from you, but alſo hereby binde himſelfe thereunto.

When I had thus made an end of ſpeaking; the ſooner by his often interruption, I had no neede to require his anſwere; which readily, and with no leſſe grauity he returned thus.

I gladly accept your Kings ſalute of loue & peace, which while I liue I ſhall exactly, both my ſelfe and ſubiects maintaine and conſerue: his pledges thereof I receiue with no leſſe thankes, albeit they are not ſo ample; howbeit himſelfe a greater *Weroance*, as formerly Captaine *Newport*, whom I very well loue, was accuſtomed to gratifie me with. But to the purpoſe, my daughter whom my brother deſireth, I ſould within theſe few daies to be wife to a great *Weroance* for two buſhels of *Roanoake* (a ſmall kinde of beades) made of oyſterſhels, which they vſe and paſſe one to another, as we doe money (a cubites length valuing ſixe pence) and it is true ſhe is already gone with him,

three daies iorney from me. I replied that I knew his greatneſſe and power to be ſuch, that if he pleaſed heerein to gratifie his Brother hee might, reſtoring the *Roanoake* without the imputation of Iniuſtice, take hoame his daughter againe, the rather becauſe ſhe was not full twelue yeeres old, and therefore not marriageable: aſſuring him beſide the band of peace, ſo much the firmer he ſhould haue treble the priſe of his daughter, in beades, Copper, Hatchets and many other things more vſefull for him? his anſwere hereunto was, that he loued his daughter as deere as his owne life, and though he had many Children, he delighted in none ſo much as in her, whom if he ſhould not often beholde, he could not poſſibly liue, which ſhe liuing with vs he knew he could not, hauing with himſelfe reſolued vpon no termes whatſoeuer to put himſelfe into our hands, or come amongſt vs, and therefore intreated me to vrge that ſuite no further, but returne his brother this anſwer.

I deſire no firmer aſſurance of his friendſhip, then his promiſe which he hath already made vnto mee; from me, he hath a pledge, one of my daughters, which ſo long as ſhe liues ſhall be ſufficient, when ſhe dieth he ſhall haue another childe of mine, but ſhe yet liueth: I holde it not a brotherly part of your King, to deſire to bereaue me of two of my children at once; further giue him to vnderſtand, that if he had no pledge at all he ſhould not neede to diſtruſt any iniurie from me, or any vnder my ſubiection, there haue bin too many of his men and my killed, and by my occaſion there ſhall neuer bee more, I which haue power to performe it, haue ſaid it: no not though I ſhould haue iuſt occaſion offered, for I am now olde, and would gladly end my daies in peace, ſo as if the Engliſh offer me iniury, my country is large enough, I will remoue my ſelfe farther from you. Thus much

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I hope will ſatisfie my brother. Now becauſe your ſelues are wearie, and I ſleepie, we will thus end the diſcourſe of this buſineſſe. Then called he one of his men, and willed him to get ſome bread for vs, himſelfe the meane while telling vs that they not expecting our comming, as vſually they doe eate vp all their other victnals, preſently the bread was brought in two great wodden bouls, the quantity of a buſhel ſod breade made vp round, of the bigneſſe of a teniſe ball, where of we eate ſome few, and diſpoſed the reſt to many of his hungrie guarde which attended about vs: when we had eaten he cauſed to be fetched a great glaſſe of ſacke, ſome three quarts or better, which Captain *Newport* had giuen him fiue or ſeauen yeeres ſince, carefully preſerued by him, not much aboue a pint in all this time ſpent, and gaue each of vs in a great oiſter ſhell ſome three ſpooneſuls; and ſo giuing order to one of his people to appoint vs a houſe to lodge in, tooke his leaue for that night, and we departed. We had not bin halfe an houre in the houſe before the fleas began ſo to torment vs that wee could not reſt there, but went forth, and vnder a broade oake, vpon a mat repoſed our ſelues that night no ſooner were we awake and vp in the morning, but *Powhatan* himſelfe came to vs, and asked vs how we fared, and immediatly led vs to his houſe, where was prouided for our breakefaſt a great bole of *Indian* peaſe and beanes boyled together, and as much bread as might haue ſufficed a doſen hungry men, about an houer after boyled freſh fiſh, and not long after that roaſted Oyſters, Creuiſes and Crabbes: his men in this time being abroade a hunting ſome veniſon, others Turkeis and ſuch like beaſts and foule as their woods affords, who returned before ten of the clocke with three does and a bucke, very good and fat veniſon, and two great cocke Turkeis, all which

were dreſſed that day, and ſupper ended, ſcarce a bone to be ſeene.

Whiles I yet remained there, by great chaunce came an Engliſh man thither, almoſt three yeeres before that time ſurpriſed, as he was at worke neere *Fort Henrie*, one *William Parker* growen ſo like both in complexion and habite to the *Indians*, that I onely knew him by his tongue to be an Engliſhman, he ſeemed very ioyfull ſo happily to meete me there. Of him when we often inquired, the *Indians* euer tolde vs that he fell ſicke and died, which till now we beleeued: he intreated me to vſe my beſt indeuours to procure his returne, which thing I was purpoſed ſo ſoone as I knew him, and immediately went with him to *Powhatan*, and tolde him that we credibly beleeued that he was dead, but ſince it was otherwiſe I muſt needes haue him home, for my ſelfe of neceſſitie muſt acquaint his brother that I had ſeene him there: who if he returned not, would make another voyage thither purpoſely for him: *Powhatan* ſeemed very much diſcontent, and thus replied. You haue one of my daughters with you, and I am therewith well content, but you can no ſooner ſee or know of any Engliſh mans being with me, but you muſt haue him away, or elſe breake peace and friendſhip: If you muſt needes haue him, he ſhall goe with you, but I will ſend no guides along with you, ſo as if any ill befall you by the way, thanke your ſelues. I anſwered, that rather then I would goe without him, I would goe alone, the way I knew well enough, and other daungers I feared not, ſince if I returned not ſafely, he muſt expect our reuenge vpon him and his people, giuing him further to know, that his brother our king might haue iuſt occaſion to diſtruſt his loue to him, by his ſlight reſpect of me, if he returned mee home without guides. He replied not hereunto, but

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in paſſion and diſcontentment from me, not till ſuppertime ſpeaking any more vnto me: when ſending for me, he gaue me ſhare of ſuch cates as were for himſelfe prouided, and as good aſpect and countenance as before; but not a word concerning my returne, till himſelfe at midnight comming to me, and the boy where we lay awaked vs, and tolde me that *Pepaſchechar* and another of his men, in the morning ſhould accompany vs home, earneſtly requeſting me to remember his brother to ſend him theſe particulars. Ten peeces of Copper, a ſhauing knife, an iron frow to cleaue bordes, a grinding ſtone, not ſo bigge but four or fiue men may carry it, which would be bigge enough for his vſe, two bone combes, ſuch as Captaine *Newport* had giuen him; the wodden ones his own men can make: an hundred fiſh-hookes or if he could ſpare it, rather a fiſhing ſaine, and a cat, and a dogge, with which things if his brother would furniſh him, he would requite his loue with the returne of skinnes: wherewith he was now altogether vnfurniſhed (as he tolde me) which yet I knew hee was well ſtored with, but his diſpoſition miſtruſtfull and ielous, loues to be on the ſurer hand.

Whē he had deliuered this his meſſage, he asked me if I will remembred euery paticular, which I muſt repeat to him for his aſſurance, & yet ſtill doubtful that I might forget any of them, he bade me write them downe in ſuch a Table book as he ſhewed me, which was a very fair one, I deſired him, it being of no vſe to him, to giue it mee: but he tolde me, it did him much good to ſhew it to ſtrangers which came vnto him: ſo in mine owne Table booke, I wrot downe each particular, and he departed.

In the morning, himſelfe and wee were timely ſtirring to be gone: to breakefaſt firſt we went, with a good boyled Turkie, which ended, he gaue vs a

whole Turkie, beſides that we left, and three baskets of bread to carry vs home, and when we were ready to depart, hee gaue each of vs an excellent Bucks skin, very well dreſſed, and white as ſnow, and ſent his ſonne and daughter each of them one, demaunding if I well remembred his anſwer to his brother, which I repeated to him: I hope (ſaid he) this will giue him good ſatisfaction, if it doe not? I will goe three daies iourny farther from him, and neuer ſee *Engliſh* man more: if vpon any other occaſion hee ſend to me again, I will gladly entertain his miſſiues, and to my powre accompliſh his iuſt requeſts: and euen thus himſelfe conducting vs to the water ſide, he tooke leaue of vs, and we of him: and about ten of the clock the next night after, we were come to the *Bermudas*. This diſcourſe I haue briefely as I could, and as the matter would permit, the rather related, to make knowne, how charie *Powhatan* is, of the conſeruation of peace, a thing much deſired, and I doubt not right welcom newes, to the vndertakers heer) as may appeare by his anſweres to my requeſts, and alſo by my ſafe paſſage thither, & homwards, without the leſt ſhew of iniury offred vnto vs, though diuers times by the way, many ſtragliug Indians met vs, which in former times, would gladly haue taken ſo faire occaſion to worke their miſchiefe and bloody deſignes vpon vs. By all which, as likewiſe by our forward progreſſion in our affaires, I hope ſuch good ſucceſſe and beneſit to bee ſpeedily reaped, that my ſelfe, though I bleſſe GOD for it, who hath ſo prouided for me, that I may liue more happily heere, then many who are fearefull to aduenture thither) could euen willingly make a third voyage thither if by my poore endeauours the buſineſſe might receiue the leaſt furtherance. God, (I hope) will raiſe vp meanes beyond mans imagination,

tion, to perfect his owne glory and honour, in the conuerſion of thoſe people, of whom vndoubtedly, (as in all other parts in the world, he hath predeſtinated ſome to eternall ſaluation. and bleſſed ſhall thoſe be that are the inſtruments thereof) I hope this poor Narration will moue euery honeſt heart, to put his helping hand thereunto. For my part, as I haue been fiue yeers a perſonall workeman in that building, ſo ſhall I euer, as my meanes may permit me, be ready to offer my mite towards the furniſhing of others, and againe (if need require) perſonall labor therein.

To the Reader.

THere be two properties eſpecially remarkeable, which ſhould moue all men earneſtly and conſtantly, with all their meanes and endeuour, to deſire the atchieuing of any thing, and bringing of the ſame vnto perfection: firſt the worth and excellencie: ſecondly the durableneſſe and continuance thereof. For as that thing which is not durable, by reaſon of fragilitie and fugacitie, is not vſually eſteemed of men, though it be excellent: ſo that likewiſe which is not precious, is worthely little regarded, though it be neuer ſo durable. Now the Virginian *plantation hath both theſe notable properties, if at the leaſt we will, and impeach them not our ſelues; for what is more excellent, more precious and more glorious, then to conuert a heathen Nation from worſhipping the diuell, to the ſauing knowledge, and true worſhip of God in Chriſt Ieſus? what more praiſeworthy and charitable, then to bring a* ſauage *people from* barbariſme *vnto ciuillitie? what more honourable vnto our countrey, then to reduce a farre diſioyned forraigne nation, vnder the due obedience of our dread* Soueraigne the Kings Maieſtie? *what more conuenient then to haue good ſeates abroade for our euer flowing multitudes of people at home? what more profitable then to purchaſe great wealth, which moſt now adaies gape after ouer-greedily? All which benefits are aſſuredly to bee had and obtained, by well and plentifully vpholding of the plantation in* Virginia. *And for the durableneſſe of all theſe*

theſe great and ſingular bleſſings, there can (by Gods aſſiſtance) be no doubt at all made, if mens hearts vnto whom God hath lent abilitie) were but inlarged cheerefully to aduenture and ſend good companies of honeſt induſtrious men thither with a mind to inlarge Chriſts *kingdome: for then will God aſſuredly maintaine his owne cauſe. But alas, as there was neuer yet any action ſo good, ſo honourable, ſo glorious, ſo pious and ſo profitable, but hath had checkes and diſcouragements, both by open enemies abroade, and inteſtine aduerſaries at home with in it owne bowels: euen ſo may I truely ſay, hath this moſt glorious, moſt honourable moſt pious and moſt profitable enterpriſe had. For as of old, when* Zerubbabell, Ezra *and* Nehemia *returned from* Babell, *by allowance of the king of* Perſia *to* Ieruſalem, *and began to repaire the walles thereof, and to reſtore Gods ſeruice, there wanted not a* Sanballat *and others to ſay:* what doe theſe weake Iewes? will they fortifie themſelues? *will they ſacrifice? will they finiſh it in a day?* Noe, *for* although they builde, yet if a fox goe vp, he ſhall euen breake downe that ſtony wall, *Euen ſo deale many* Sanballates *and* Tobiahes, *forraigne and domeſticall enemies of this moſt religious worke: yea there be many who will not ſeeme enemies thereunto, but yet will neither further the buſineſſe themſelues, no not according to their owne ingagements which in conſcience and credite they ought) nor quietly ſuffer orhers that otherwiſe wold, but diſcourage them therin all they may ſom ſaying as* Iudah *once did.* The ſtrength of the bearers is weakned, and there is much earth, ſo as we are not able to builde the wall. *Som ſaying with the vnfaithfull* Spies, *ſent forth to ſearch the land of* Canaan: The land wee went through to ſearch it out is a land that eateth vp the inhabitants thereof, for all the people we ſaw in it are ſtrong, and men of great ſtature: *yea and ſome others ſay, there is much already expended, and yet no*

profit ariſeth, neither is there victuals to be had, for the preſeruing of life and ſoule together. But oh my deere countrie-men, be not ſo farre bewitched herewith as to be ſtill diſcouraged thereat for thoſe that bring a vilde ſlaũder vpon this action, may die by a plague before the Lord, as thoſe men did: but rather remembring your auncient worth, renowne, valour and bounty, harken vnto Caleb *and* Ioſua, *who ſtilled the peoples mourning: ſaying,* Let vs goe vp at once and poſſeſſe it, for vndoubtedly we ſhall ouercome it; *yet not ſo much now by force of armes as the* Iſraelites *did then by warrant from God (nor by vtterly deſtroying of them, as ſome haue cruelly done ſince) as by gentleneſſe, loue, amity and* Religion. *As for profit it ſhall come abundantly, if we can with the huſband-man, but freely caſt our corne into the ground, and with patience waite for a bleſſing. And of victuals, there is now no complaint at all, and that which was hapned by the meere laſie negligence of our owne people.*

Now to the end that you may the better perceiue theſe things to be true, & be thereby the more animated cheerefully to goe forward in the vpholding of this holy worke, I will no longer detaine you from the peruſall of ſome Calebs *and* Ioſuahs *faithfull reports (writ there in Iune laſt this preſent yeere* 1614. *and ſent hither by the laſt ſhippe that came thence) for further incouragement to put hereunto ſpeedily & plentifully your helping hands with al alacrity: As for thẽ that are able, & yet wil not further but indaunger the vtter ruining of this ſo glorious a cauſe (by their miſerableneſſe (being without loue and charitie) to the great diſhonour of* God, *and our Countries perpetuall ſhame ſhould it now ſinke, and fall to the gonnd: I leaue them to him that made them, to diſpoſe of them according to his infinite wiſdome. And ſo come to the letters themſelues: the firſt and chiefeſt whereof is from Sir* Thomas Dale, Marſhall and Gouernour of Virginia, *vnto a* Miniſter *of London.*

To

To the R. and my moſt eſteemed friend Mr. D. M. at his houſe at F. Ch. in London.

RIght Reuerend Sr. by Sr. Thomas Gates *I wrot vnto you of ſuch occaſions as then preſented themſelues, and now again by this worthy Gentleman Captaine* Argall *I ſalute you: for ſuch is the reuerend regard I haue of you, as I cannot omit any occaſion to expres the ſincere affection I beare you. You haue euer giuen me encouragements to perſeuer in this religious* Warfare, *vntill your laſt Letters; not for that you are now leſſe well affected thereunto: but becauſe you ſee the* Action *to bee in danger by many of their non performances who vnder tooke the buſineſſe. I haue vndertaken, and haue as faithfully, & with all my might indeauored the proſecution with all allacrity, as God that knoweth the heart, can beare me record, what recompence, or what rewards, by whom, or when I know not where to expect; but from him in whoſe* vineyard *I labor, whoſe* Church *with greedy appetite I deſire to erect. My glorious maſter is gone, that would haue ennamelled* Prince Henry *with his fauours the labours I vndertake, for* Gods cauſe, *and his* immortall *honour. He was the great* Captaine *of our* Iſraell, *the hope to haue builded vp this heauenly new* Ieruſalem. *he interred (I think) the whole frame of this buſineſſe, fell into his graue: for moſt mens forward (at leaſt ſeeming ſo) deſires are quenched, and* Virginia *ſtands in deſperate hazard.*

You there doe your duties, I will no way omit mine, the time I promiſed to labour, is expired: it is not a yoke of Oxen hath drawn me from this feaſt: it is not the marriage of a wife maks me haſt home, though that ſhall at giue an appetite to cauſe me returne. But I haue more care of the Stock, *then to ſet it vpon a die, and rather put my ſelfe to the curteſie of noble & worthy cenſures then ruine this worke; and haue a* iury (*nay a million*) *of foule mouthed detracters, ſcan vpon my endeauours, the ends whereof they cannot diue into. You ſhall briefely vnderſtand, what hath betide ſince my laſt, and how we now ſtand, and are likely to grow to perfection, if we be not altogeather neglected, my ſtay grounded vpon ſuch reaſon, as had I now returned, it would haue hazarded the ruine of all.*

Sir Thomas Gates *hauing imbarqued himſelfe for* England, *I put my ſelfe into Captaine* Argalls *ſhip, with a hundred and fifty men in my frigot, and other boats went into* Pamaunkie *riuer, where* Powhatan *hath his reſidence, and can in two or three daies, draw a thouſand men togeather, with me I carried his daughter, who had been long priſoner with vs, it was a day or two before we heard of them: At length they demaunded why we came; I gaue for anſwere that I came to bring him his daughter, conditionally he would (as had been agreed vpon for her ranſome) render all the armes, tooles, ſwords, and men that had runne away, and giue me a ſhip full of corne, for the wrong he had done vnto vs: if they would doe this, we would be friends, if not burne all. They demaun-*

maunded time to ſend to their King; I aſſented, I taking, they receiuing two pledges, to carrie my meſſage to Powhatan. *All night my two men lay not far from the water ſide, about noon the next day they told them the great* King *was three daies iourney off, that* Opochankano *was hard by, to whom they would haue had them deliuer their meſſage, ſaying, that what he agreed vpon and did, the great King would confirme. This* Opocankano *is brother to* Powhatan, *and is his and their chiefe* Captaine: *and one that can as ſoone (if not ſooner) as* Powhatan *commaund the men. But my men refuſed to doe my meſſage vnto any ſaue* Powhatan, *ſo they were brought back, and I ſent theirs to them, they tould me that they would fetch* Simons *to me, who had thrice plaid the runnagate, whoſe lies and villany much hindred our trade for corne: But they delayed vs, ſo as we went a ſhore they ſhot at vs; we were not behinde hand with them, killed ſome, hurt others, marched into the land, burnt their houſes, tooke their corne, and quartered all night aſhore.*

The next day we went further vp the riuer, they dogged vs, and called to know whither we went; wee anſwered, to burne all, if they would not doe as we demaunded, and had been agreed vpon. They would they ſaid, bring all the next day ſo wee for bare all hoſtility, went a ſhore, their men in good numbers comming amongſt vs. but we were very cautious, & ſtood to our arms. The Kings daughter went aſhore, but would not talke to any of them ſcarce to them of of the beſt ſort, and to them onely, that if her father had

had loued her, he would not value her leſſe then olde ſwords, peeces, or axes: wherefore ſhe would ſtil dwel with the Engliſh men, who loued her. At laſt came one from Powhatan, *who tould vs, that* Simons *was run away, to* Nonſowhaticond, *which was a truth, as afterwards appeared, but that the other Engliſh man was dead, that proued a lie: for ſince,* M^r. Hamor, *whom I employed to* Powhatan *brought him to me, our peeces, ſwords, and tooles within fifteen daies, ſhould be ſent to* Iames *towne, with ſome corne, and that his daughter ſhould be my childe, and euer dwell vvith mee, deſiring to be euer friends, and named ſuch of his people, and neighbour Kings, as he deſired to be included, and haue the benefit of the peace, promiſing if any of our men came to him, vvithout leaue from me, he would ſend them back: and that if any of his men ſtole from vs, or killed our cattel, he vvould ſend them to vs to bee puniſhed as vve thought fit. With theſe conditions we returned, and vvithin the time limited, part of our Arms vvere ſent, and* 20. *men vvith corne, and promiſed more, vvhich he hath alſo ſent.* Opachankano *deſired I vvould call him friend, and that he might call me ſo, ſaying he vvas a great* Captaine, *and did alwaies fight: that I vvas alſo a great* Captaine, *and therefore he loued mee; and that my friends ſhould be his friends. So the bargain vvas made, and euery eight or ten daies, I haue meſſages and preſents from him, vvith many apparances that he much deſireth to continue friendſhippe.*

Novv may you iudge Sir, if the God of battailes haue not a helping hand in this, that hauing our ſwords,

ſwords drawn, killing their men, burning their houſes, and taking their corne: yet they tendred vs peace, and ſtriue with all alacrity to keep vs in good opinion of them; by which many benefits ariſe vnto vs. Firſt, part of our Armes, diſgracefully loſt long agoe, (kept by the Sauages *as* Monuments *and* Trophies *of our ſhames) redeliuered, ſome repaire to our honor. Our cattle to increaſe, without danger of deſtroying, our men at liberty, to hunt freely for veniſon, to fiſh, to doe any thing elſe, or goe any whither, without danger; to follow the husbanding of their corne ſecurely, whereof we haue aboue fiue hundred Acres ſet, and God be praiſed, in more forwardneſſe, then any of the Indians, that I haue ſeene, or heard off this yeere, roots, and hearbs we haue in abundance; all doubt of want is by Gods bleſſing quite vaniſhed, and much plenty expected. And which is not the leaſt materiall, we may by this peace, come to diſcouer the countrey better, both by our own trauells, and by the relation of the* Sauages, *as we grow in familiarity with them,*

Powhatans *daughter I cauſed to be carefully inſtructed in Chriſtian Religion, who after ſhee had made ſome good progreſſe therein, renounced publickly her countrey Idolatry, openly confeſſed her Chriſtian faith, was, as ſhe deſired, baptiſed, and is ſince married to an Engliſh Gentleman of good vnderſtanding, (as by his letter vnto me, containing the reaſons for his marriage of her you may perceiue) an other knot to binde this peace the ſtronger. Her* Father, *and friends gaue approbation to it, and her Vncle gaue*

her

her to him in the Church: ſhe liues ciuilly and louingly with him, and I truſt will increaſe in goodneſſe, as the knowledge of God increaſeth in her. She will goe into England with me, and were it but the gayning of this one ſoule, I will thinke my time, toile, and preſent ſtay well ſpent.

Since this accident the Gouernours and people of Checkahomanies, *who are fiue hundred bow-men, and better, a ſtout and warlike Nation, haue made meanes to haue vs come vnto them, and conclude a peace, where all the Gouernours would meete me. They hauing thus three or foure times importuned mee, I reſolued to goe; ſo taking Captain* Argall, *with fifty men in my frigot, and barge I went thither: Captaine* Argall *with forty men landed, I kept aboord for ſome reaſons. Vpon the meeting they tould Captain* Argall *they had longed to be friends, that they had no* King, *but eight great men, who gouernd them. He tould them that we came to be friends, asked them if they would haue* King Iames *to be their* King, *& whether they would be his men? They after ſom conference between themſelues, ſeemed willing of both, demaunding if we would fight againſt their enemies, he tould them that if any did them iniurie, they ſhould ſend me word, and I would agree them, or if their aduerſaries would not, then I would let them haue as many men as they would to help them: they liked well of that, and tould him that all their men ſhould helpe vs. All this being agreed vpon,* C. Argall *gaue euery* Councellor *a* Tamahawk, *and a peece of Copper, which was kindly taken; they requeſted further, that if their*

their boats ſhould happen to meet with our boats, and that they ſaid they were the Chikahominy Engliſhmen, *and* King Iames *his men, we vvould let them paſſe: vve agreed vnto it, ſo that they pronounced them ſelues* Engliſh men, *and* King Iames *his men, promiſing within fifteen daies to come vnto* Iames *town to ſee me, and conclude theeſe conditions; euery bowman being to giue me as a* Tribute *to* King Iames *two meaſures of Corne euery harueſt, the two meaſures containing two buſhells and a halfe, and I to giue euery bowman a ſmall* Tamahawke, *and to euery* Counſeller *a ſuit of red cloath, vvhich did much pleaſe them. This people neuer acknowledged any* King, *before; no nor euer would acknowledge* Powhatan *for their* King, *a ſtout people they be, and a delicate ſeat they haue.*

Now Sir you ſee our conditions, you, and al worthy men may iudge, vvhether it vvould not be a griefe to ſee theſe faire hopes froſtbitten and theſe freſh budding plants to wither: which had I returned, had aſſuredly followed: for heer is no one that the people vvould haue to gouern them, but my ſelfe: for I had novv come away, had I not found a generall deſire in the beſt ſort to returne for England: *letter vpon letter, requeſt vpon requeſt from their friends to returne, ſo as I knew not vpon whom to conferre the care of this buſines in my abſence. whom I thought fitte was generally diſtaſted, ſo as ſeeing the eminent enſuing danger, ſhould I haue left this multitude, not yet fully refined, I am reſolued to ſtay till harueſt be got in, and then ſettle things according to my poor vnderſtanding, and returne: if in the interim there come no authoriſed Gouernour from* England.

Conſider I pray you ſince things be brought to this paſſe, as you ſee, and that I ſhould haue come away, if then through their factions, *humors, mutinies, or indiſcretion of the* Chiefes *I had left behind, this ſhould fall to ruine: I then ſhould receiue the imputation; I incurre the blame, for quitting the* Plantation, *although I might doe it, both vvith my honour, my promiſed ſtay of time being expired, and hauing vvarrant from my* Soueraigne, the Kings Maieſty: *but the precedent reaſons moued me and that this action of ſuch price, ſuch excellency, and aſſured profit to mine own knowledge ſhould not die to the ſcorne of our* Nation, *and to giue cauſe of laughter to the Papiſts that deſire our ruine. I can aſſure you, no countrey of the world affoordes more aſſured hopes of infinit riches, which both by mine own peoples diſcouery, & the relation of ſuch* Sauages, *vvhoſe fidelity we haue often found aſſureth me.*

Oh vvhy ſhould ſo many Princes, and noble men ingage themſelues and therby intermedling herein, haue cauſed a number of ſoules tranſport themſelues, and be tranſported hither? vvhy ſhould they (I ſay) relinquiſh this ſo glorious an Action: *for if their ends bee to build Gods* Church, *they ought to perſeuer: if otherwiſe, yet their honour engageth them to be conſtant. Howſoeuer they ſtand affected, heer is enough to content them, let their ends be either for* God, *or* Mammon.

Theſe things haue animated me to ſtay for a little ſeaſon, to leaue thoſe, I am tied in conſcience to returne vnto, to leaue the aſſured benefits of my other fortunes, the ſweete ſociety of my friends, and acquaintance, vvith all mundall delightes, and reſide heer with much turmoile, which I will conſtantly doe, rather then ſee Gods glorie diminiſhed, my King *and Coun*

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trey diſhonoured, and theſe poore people, I haue the charge of ruined. And ſo I beſeech you to anſwere for me, if you heare me taxed for my ſtaying, as ſome may iuſtly do, and that theſe are my chiefe motiues God *I take to vvitneſſe. Remember me, and the cauſe I haue in hand, in your daily meditations, and reckon me in the number of thoſe that doe ſincerely loue you and yours, and vvill euer reſt in all offices of a friend, to doe you ſeruice.*

From Iames towne in Virginia
the 18 of Iune, 1614.

Thomas Dale.

To my verie deere and louing *Coſen* M. G. *Miniſter of the* B. F. in London.

SIr the Colony here is much better. Sir Thomas Dale *our religious and valiant Gouernour, hath now brought that to paſſe, which neuer before could be effected. For by vvarre vpon our enemies, and kinde vſage of our friends, he hath brought them to ſeeke for peace of vs, vvhich is made, and they dare not breake. But that vvhich is beſt, one* Pocahuntas *or* Matoa *the daughter of* Powhatan, *is married to an honeſt and diſcreete Engliſh Gentleman Maiſter* Rolfe, *and that after ſhe had openly*

renounced her countrey Idolatry, confeſſed the faith of Ieſus Chriſt, and vvas baptiſed; vvhich thing Sir Thomas Dale *had laboured along time to ground in her.*

Yet notvvithſtanding, are the vertuous deeds of this vvorthy Knight, much debaſed, by the letters vvhich ſome vvicked men haue vvritten from hence, and eſpecially by one C. L. *If you heare any condemne this noble Knight, or dee feare to come hither, for thoſe ſlaunderous letters, you may vpon my vvord bouldly reproue them. You knovv that no malefactors can abide the face of the Iudge, but themſelues ſcorning to be reproued, doe proſecute vvithall hatred, all thoſe that labour their amendment. I maruaile much that any men of honeſt life, ſhould feare the ſword of the magiſtrate, which is vnſheathed onely in their defence.*

But I much more muſe, that ſo fevv of our Engliſh Miniſters that vvere ſo hot againſt the Surplis and ſubſcription: come hither vvhere neither ſpoken of. Doe they not either vvilfully hide their Tallents, or keepe themſelues at home for feare of looſing a fevv pleaſures? Be there not any amongſt them of Moſes *his minde, and of the* Apoſtles, *that forſooke all to followv Chriſt? But I referre them to the Iudge of all hearts, and to the King that ſhall reward euery one according to the gaine of his Tallent. But you my coſen, holde faſt that vvhich you: haue, and I though my promiſe of 3 yeers ſeruice to my country be expired, vvill abide in my vocation here*

here vntill I be lawfully called from hence. And ſo betaking vs all vnto the mercies of God in Chriſt Ieſus, I reſt for euer.

Virginia Iune 18. 1614.

Your moſt deere and louing coſen
Alex. Whitakers.

The coppie of the Gentle-mans letters to Sir *Thomas Dale*, that after maried *Powhatans daughter*, containing the reaſons mouing him thereunto.

HOnourable Sir, and moſt vvorthy Gouernor: vvhen your leaſure ſhall beſt ſerue you to peruſe theſe lines, I truſt in God, the beginning vvill not ſtrike you into a greater admiration, then the end vvill giue you good content. It is a matter of no ſmall moment, concerning my own particular which here I impart vnto you, and vvhich toucheth mee ſo neerely, as the tenderneſſe of my ſaluation. Howbeit I freely ſubiect my ſelfe to your graue and mature iudgement, deliberation, approbation and determination; aſſuring my ſelfe of your zealous admonitions, and godly comforts, either perſwading me to deſiſt, or incouraging me to perſiſt therin, with a religious feare and godly care, for which (from the very inſtant, that this began to roote it ſelfe, vvithin the ſecret boſome of my breſt) my daily and earneſt praiers haue bin, ſtill are, and euer ſhall bee pro-

ed forthwith, as ſincere, a godly zeale, as I poſſiblely may to be directed, aided and gouerned in all my thoughts, vvords and deedes, to the glory of God, and for my eternal conſolation. To perſeuere vvherein I neuer had more neede, nor (till novv) could euer imagine to haue bin moued vvith the like occaſion.

But (my caſe ſtanding as it doth) vvhat better vvorldly refuge can I here ſeeke, then to ſhelter my ſelfe vnder the ſafety of your fauourable protection? And did not my eaſe proceede from an vnſpotted conſcience, I ſhould not dare to offer to your vievv and aprroued iudgement, theſe paſſions of my troubled ſoule, ſo full of feare and trembling is hypocriſie and diſſimulation. But knovving my owne innocency & godly feruor, in the vvhole proſecution hereof, I doubt not of your benigne acceptance, and clement conſtruction. As for malicious deprauers, & turbulēt ſpirits, to whom nothing is taſtful, but what pleaſeth their vnſauory pallat, I paſſe not for them being vvell aſſured in my perſvvaſion (by the often triall and prouing of my ſelfe, in my holieſt meditations and praiers) that I am called hereunto by the ſpirit of God; and it ſhall be ſufficient for me to be protected by your ſelfe in all vertuous and pious indeuours. And for my more happie proceeding herein, my daily oblations ſhall euer be addreſſed to bring to paſſe ſo good effects, that your ſelfe, and all the vvorld may truely ſay: This is the worke of God, and it is marueIous in our eies.

But to auoide tedious preambles, and to come

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neerer the matter: firſt ſuffer me vvith your patience, to ſweepe and make cleane the way vvherein I vvalke, from all ſuſpicions and doubts, vvhich may be couered therein, and faithfully to reueale vnto you, vvhat ſhould moue me hereunto.

Let therefore this my vvell aduiſed proteſtation, vvhich here I make betweene God and my own conſcience, be a ſufficient vvitneſſe, at the dreadfull day of iudgement (vvhen the ſecret of all mens harts ſhall be opened) to condemne me herein, if my chiefeſt intent and purpoſe be not, to ſtriue with all my power of body and minde, in the vndertaking of ſo mightie a matter, no vvay led (ſo farre forth as mans vveakneſſe may permit) with the vnbridled deſire of carnall affection: but for the good of this plantation, for the honour of our countrie, for the glory of God, for my owne ſaluation, and for the conuerting to the true knowledge of God and Ieſus Chriſt, an vnbeleeuing creature, namely Pokahuntas. *To whom my hartie and beſt thoughts are, and haue a long time bin ſo intangled, and inthralled in ſo intricate a laborinth, that I vvas euen awearied to vnwinde my ſelfe thereout. But almighty God, vvho neuer faileth his, that truely inuocate his holy name, hath opened the gate, and led me by the hand that I might plainely ſee and diſcerne the ſafe paths vvherein to treade.*

To you therefore (moſt noble Sir) the patron and Father of vs in this countrey doe I vtter the effects of this my ſetled and long continued affection (which

(which hath made a mightie warre in my meditations) and here I doe truely relate, to vvhat iſſue this dangerous combate is come vnto, vvherein I haue not onely examined, but throughle tried and pared my thoughts euen to the quicke, before I could finde any fit vvholeſome and apt applications to cure ſo daungerous an vlcer. I neuer failed to offer my daily and faithfull praiers to God, for his ſacred and holy aſſiſtance. I forgot not to ſet before mine eies the frailty of mankinde, his prones to euill, his indulgencie of vvicked thoughts, vvith many other imperfections vvherein man is daily inſnared, and oftentimes ouerthrowne, and them compared to my preſent eſtate. Nor vvas I ignorant of the heauie diſpleaſure which almightie God conceiued againſt the ſonnes of Leuie *and* Iſrael *for marrying ſtrange vviues, nor of the inconueniences vvhich may thereby ariſe, with other the like good motions vvhich made me looke about warily and with good circumſpection, into the grounds and principall agitations, which thus ſhould prouoke me to be in loue with one whoſe education hath bin rude, her manners barbarous, her generation accurſed, and ſo diſcrepant in all nurriture from my ſelfe, that oftentimes with feare and trembling, I haue ended my priuate controuerſie with this: ſurely theſe are vvicked inſtigations, hatched by him who ſeeketh and delighteth in mans deſtruction; and ſo with feruent praiers to be euer preſerued from ſuch diabolical aſſaults (as I tooke thoſe to be) I haue taken ſome reſt.*

Thus

Thus when I had thought I had obtained my peace and quietneſſe, beholde another, but more gracious tentation hath made breaches into my holieſt and ſtrongeſt meditations; with which I haue bin put to a new triall, in a ſtraighter manner then the former: for beſides the many paſſions and ſufferings, which I haue daily, hourely, yea and in my ſleepe indured, euen awaking mee to aſtoniſhment, taxing me with remiſſneſſe, and careleſneſſe, refuſing and neglecting to performe the duetie of a good Chriſtian, pulling mee by the eare, and crying: why diſt not thou indeuour to make her a Chriſtian? And theſe haue happened to my greater wonder, euen when ſhe hath bin furtheſt ſeperated from me, which in common reaſon (were it not an vndoubted worke of God) might breede forgetfulneſſe of a farre more worthie creature. Beſides, I ſay the holy Spirit of God hath often demaunded of me, why I was created? If not for tranſitory pleaſures and worldly vanities, but to labour in the Lords vineyard, there to ſow and plant, to nouriſh and increaſe the fruites thereof, daily adding with the good husband in the Goſpell, ſomewhat to the tallent, that in the end the fruites may be reaped, to the comfort of the laborer in this life, and his ſaluation in the world to come? And if this be, as vndoubtedly this is, the ſeruice Ieſus Chriſt requireth of his beſt ſeruants; woe vnto him that hath theſe inſtruments of pietie put into his hands, and wilfully deſpiſeth to worke with them. Likewiſe, adding hereunto her great appe-

rance of loue to me, her deſire to be taught and inſtructed in the knowledge of God, her capableneſſe of vnderſtanding, her aptneſſe and willingneſſe to receiue anie good impreſſion, and alſo the ſpirituall, beſides her owne incitements ſtirring me vp hereunto.

what ſhould I doe? ſhall I be of ſo vntoward a diſpoſition, as to refuſe to leade the blind into the right way? Shall I be ſo vnnaturall, as not to giue bread to the hungrie? or vncharitable, as not to couer the naked? Shall I deſpiſe to actuate theſe pious duеties of a Chriſtian? Shall the baſe feare of diſpleaſing the world, ouerpower and with-holde mee from reuealing vnto man theſe ſpirituall workes of the Lord, which in my meditations and praiers, I haue daily made knowne vnto him? God for bid. I aſſuredly truſt hee hath thus delt with me for my eternall felicitie, and for his glorie: and I hope ſo to be guided by his heauenly grace, that in the end by my faithfull paines, and chriſtianlike labour, I ſhall attaine to that bleſſed promiſe, Pronounced by that holy Prophet Daniell *vnto the righteous that bring many vnto the knowledge of God. Namely, that they ſhall ſhine like the ſtarres foreuer and euer. A ſweeter comfort cannot be to a true Chriſtian, nor a greater incouragement for him to labour all the daies of his life, in the performance thereof, nor a greater gaine of conſolation, to be deſired at the hower of death, and in the day of iudgement.*

Againe

Againe by my reading, and conference with honeſt and religious perſons, haue I receiued no ſmall encouragement, beſides ſerena mea conſcientia, *the cleerenesſe of my conſcience, clean from the filth of impurity,* quæ eſt inſtar muri ahenei, *which is vnto me, as a braſen wall. If I ſhould ſet downe at large, the perturbations & godly motions, which haue ſtriuen within mee, I ſhould but make a tedious & vnneceſſary volume. But I doubt not theſe ſhall be ſufficient both to certifie you of my true intents, in diſcharging of my dutie to God, & to your ſelfe, to whoſe gracious prouidence I humbly ſubmit my ſelfe, for his glory, your honour, our Countreys good, the benefit of this Plantation, and for the conuerting of one vnregenerate, to regeneration; which I beſeech God to graunt, for his deere Sonne Chriſt Ieſus his ſake.*

Now if the vulgar ſort, who ſquare all mens actions by the baſe rule of their own filthineſſe, ſhall taxe or taunt me in this my godly labour: let them know, it is not any hungry appetite, to gorge my ſelfe with incontinency; ſure (if I would, and were ſo ſenſually inclined) I might ſatisfie ſuch deſire, though not without a ſeared conſcience, yet with Chriſtians more pleaſing to the eie, and leſſe fearefull in the offence vnlawfully committed. Nor am I in ſo deſperate an eſtate, that I regard not what becommeth of mee; nor am I out of hope but one day to ſee my Country, nor ſo void of friends, nor meane in birth, but there to obtain a mach to my great con-

tent: nor haue I ignorantly paſſed ouer my hopes there, or regardleſly ſeek to looſe the loue of my friends, by taking this courſe: I know them all, and haue not raſhly ouerſlipped any.

But ſhall it pleaſe God thus to diſpoſe of me (which I earneſtly deſire to fullfill my ends before ſette down) I will heartely accept of it: as a godly taxe appointed me, and I will neuer ceaſe, (God aſſiſting me) vntill I haue accompliſhed, & brought to perfection ſo holy a worke, in which I will daily pray God to bleſſe me, to mine, and her eternall happines. And thus deſiring no longer to liue, to enioy the bleſsings of God, then this my reſolution doth tend to ſuch godly ends, as are by me before declared: not doubting of your fauourable acceptance, I take my leaue, beſeeching Almighty God to raine downe vpon you, ſuch plenitude of his heauenly graces. as your heart can wiſh and deſire, and ſo I reſt,

At your commaund moſt willing
to be diſpoſed off

Iohn Rolfe.

Virginia therefore ſtanding now in ſuch a goodly proportion, and faire forwardneſſe of thriuing, as it was neuer yet hitherto ſeen in, ſince it began to be firſt planted: cannot but ſoone come to perfection, to the exceeding great comfort of all well affected Chriſtians,

Chriſtians, and no ſmall profit of the planters, and aduenturers: if it be well ſeconded and ſupplyed, with a good number of able men: Wherefore, let none bee hereafter vnwilling all they may to further this moſt honourable Action, and be forward to vphold and ſupport it from falling, by their ſpeech, and countenance, and freely aduenturing thither, both in their perſons, & alſo by their purſes, as God hath inabled them. To conclude, as *Azariah* ſayd once to King *Azah*, *Iuda*, and *Beniamin*, ſo ſay I vnto all. *Bee yee ſtrong therefore, and let not your hands be weake. for your worke ſhall haue a reward.* And as the holy Apoſtle ſaid to the Corinthians, *Be ye therefore ſtedfaſt, vnmoueable, abundant alwaies in the vvorkes of the Lord. for as much as ye know your labour is not in vaine in the Lord, let vs not therefore bee vvearie of vvelldoing:* for in due ſeaſon, *vvee ſhall reape*, if wee faint not as the Apoſtle tolde the Galatians. Farewell.

FINIS.

Errata.

PAg. 5. ine 33.hir.p.10.l.16.*Opechankano.* p.15.l.14.Weroance. p.17. l.22.manure. p.17.l. 34.next to vs.read ſo as if. p.18.l.4.halfe. p.18.l. 8.20. p.18.l.12. purpoſed. p.21. l. 16.diuers. p.21.l.27 Saine. p.22.l.21. after *doth* .read,not.p.23.l.13,leaue out, he. p.24.l.16, cure. p.27.l24. bring.p.31.l.2. read immediatlie after by name, Coxendale: and after the word,*called*, read,Hope in faith. p.21.l.25.Somer.p.42.l24.luring.p. 45.l.1.read, after diſcontentment, went. p.46.l. 12. meſſengers.p.47.l. 18. perſonally.

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